

**A Civil Rights
Inventory
of San Francisco**

PART I

EMPLOYMENT

**Irving Babow
Edward Howden**

COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

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The Council for Civic Unity, a voluntary association, seeks to

- promote equality of right and opportunity free from racial or religious discrimination;
- remedy specific restrictive practices;
- improve intergroup relations, with special attention to main sources of misunderstanding and injustice; and so
- build a better community for all and strengthen the nation.

A CIVIL RIGHTS INVENTORY
OF SAN FRANCISCO

Part I

E M P L O Y M E N T

By Irving Babow, Ph.D.

and Edward Howden

A study conducted under the auspices
of the Council for Civic Unity of San
Francisco with the assistance of a
grant from the Columbia Foundation

Daniel E. Koshland, Chairman
Committee on Civil Rights Inventory

San Francisco, June, 1958

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I DON'T BELIEVE that a new era was ushered in with October 4, 1957, the date of Sputnik I, but there may be a kind of new era in thinking about the strategic importance of certain manpower groups to the nation's survival. And I think it may even help people to understand that nothing could be more stupid than to waste our manpower resources or to be complacent about them by depriving significant groups in the population of either decent opportunities for education...or decent and equal opportunities for employment. Most of our skills, you know, are learned through work experience. We would really have to fail to understand the nation's situation if we thought we could dismiss, as though they didn't exist, very sizable groups in the population because we don't like their color or the countries they came from or the religion they practice, or their sex, or even their age.

Suppose you had a population the size of our neighbor to the north -- Canada -- and you said to that population, "We're going to cheat you in terms of your educational experience. We're going to promise you equal education, but not give it to you. We're not going to play fair when you turn up for a job. We're going to give some of you quite advanced training as engineers, but we're going to let you work as elevator operators." If Canada did that, we would stand back in amazement and say the Canadians were stupid. But we do that, to some degree, because we treat our Negro population -- which is about the same size as that of Canada -- not wholly in this way, but in part in this way. And any nation which cuts off, so to speak, its own nose for the wrong sorts of reasons, and suffers in consequence, is acting, I think, in an extremely short-sighted fashion....

(Concerning fair employment legislation)... Our staff in its studies has learned that legislation of this kind very frequently helps release needed manpower for effective and productive use, and I personally can say that the legislation very frequently creates a climate in which new practices are quite readily accepted....I would say FEPC is an instance where the existence of the measure...sometimes opens up a whole new series of behavior patterns."

-- DR. HENRY DAVID
Executive Director
National Manpower Council
(Radio interview, "Dateline Freedom,"
Station KCBS, San Francisco, April 26,
1958)

VIRTUALLY EVERYONE is against discrimination just as everyone is against sin. Nevertheless we know there are many sinners. We are equally aware that there is a great deal of job discrimination in the United States. ... Discrimination in hiring is not, however, the whole problem, and in view of the progress which has been made in recent years, it may not even be the major part of our problem....Perhaps the problem which we face today is more difficult to detect, harder to eradicate, and more challenging. It may be primarily discrimination in promoting, demoting and transferring -- the closing of certain classifications or types of jobs to members of particular groups....When we have a majority of the Negro population underemployed, we are obviously wasting badly needed skill potential. When we refuse to let Jews rise to an executive position because of their religion, we are depriving ourselves of badly needed talent.

-- JAMES P. MITCHELL
Secretary of Labor
(Address before Conference on
Equal Job Opportunity, President's
Committee on Government Contracts,
Washington, D. C., October 25, 1955)

FOREWORD

San Francisco has long been proud of its cosmopolitan character and reputation for an atmosphere of good relations among its people of various racial, religious, and ethnic groups. Not long after World War II, however, a national magazine article made critical reference to our "tarnished tolerance." Then another writer rhapsodically recounted how the city had "squelched prejudice"! And over the ensuing years the arguments pro and con have flared anew with each passing pronouncement on the city's comparative enlightenment or backwardness in civil rights and intergroup relations.

While we all take pleasure in pointing with pride to the good features of human relations in our city, let us remember that the people who make this possible are those whose main concern is doing something to solve the community problems still before us. Several years ago the Council for Civic Unity decided that the time had come when a clearer and more comprehensive picture of the status of minority rights and opportunities was needed. It was needed for various reasons, one being to help avoid both the error of overstating our advances in these matters and the opposite danger of overlooking gains made which could provide valuable precedent for further progress. Distortion of either sort tends to retard forward movement -- in the first case by inducing complacency and in the other by failing to see what can be accomplished and how. Basically, of course, knowledge of restrictive practices and explanations offered for them is essential if all elements in the community wishing to help toward remedies -- not only organizations such as the Council for Civic Unity but employers, unions, placement specialists, social and governmental agencies, religious institutions, and various civic groups -- are to have a sound basis for their programming.

The Council was also aware of an apparently growing tendency of discrimination to "go underground." Racism and religious restrictiveness are no longer openly avowed or sanctioned by respectable citizens in Northern cities, and those inequalities which remain are likely to be covert or indirect. Getting at the facts was expected, accordingly, to be quite difficult. Meaningful appraisal of community practices in these respects would clearly require careful and systematic study. But the importance of the objective seemed to justify an ambitious undertaking, and

we proceeded to develop a plan for this study, A Civil Rights Inventory of San Francisco.

A grant from the Columbia Foundation made it possible for us to secure the research services of Dr. Irving Babow, a former professional worker in intergroup relations and holder of a doctoral degree in sociology from the University of California; to employ a skilled interviewer and part-time secretary; and to defray most of the publication cost of the first report. A large share of the total cost of the study has also been met through the regular operating budget of the Council for Civic Unity, in that major time has been devoted to the project over several years by executive director Edward Howden, Dr. Helen E. Amerman, assistant director, and other staff, and much of the overhead expense has been carried in the same fashion. Credit is therefore due both the Foundation and the Council's members and contributors for financing the study.

The Inventory was initiated during the Council presidency of William M. Roth, carried on throughout Reynold H. Colvin's administration, and this first report appears under president Edgar D. Osgood. Serving with the undersigned as members of the Council's Committee on the Civil Rights Inventory were Mrs. H. Robert Braden, Frederic Cromwell, Mrs. Myer Kahn, Seaton Manning, Dr. Harry C. Meserve, Dr. Hilda Taba, and Thomas P. White.

Part I of the Inventory report deals with employment practices. Subsequent volumes will be devoted to housing, hospitals, and places of public accommodation. Available resources did not permit coverage of other areas of possible intergroup relations concern, such as schools, police, or health and welfare services.

The Council's good reputation and effectiveness in the community have been due in part to its traditional reliance on fact and reason. The painstaking study embodied in the present volume and those to come represent our latest and perhaps most significant endeavors within this tradition. We offer this report not as the final and complete word on minority employment opportunity in San Francisco, but as a working document which we believe will be useful to men and women of good will in the employment field. The findings presented here by Dr. Babow and Mr. Howden provide valuable analytic tools and guidelines which, in my opinion, could be utilized, primarily by management and labor, and secondarily by placement people, interested nonofficial agencies, and the city Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, to bring about widespread merit hiring, promotion, and integration at a much

earlier date than most of us now envision. The willingness of respondents among employers, union officials, and others to contribute data to the study -- for which we express profound gratitude -- may in itself reflect a hopeful openness of attitude toward reappraisal of personnel policies.

Many of the job relationships and practices described in this volume are happily not fixed or unalterable. As the authors indicate, some changes in the direction of nondiscrimination were reported even while the report was being written. No doubt events such as the intense local campaign for a fair employment practices ordinance and its final adoption, and even the making of a study such as this, add impetus to the abandonment of old barriers of color and creed. But these changes come slowly at best, and in the period since our field work was carried out there have been relatively few signs of general progress in merit hiring or in extension of minority employment beyond lower-level capacities and token numbers. The report, therefore, was not "dated" by the fair employment ordinance enactment of mid-1957; our findings and conclusions are highly relevant to problems which appear to be with us still in ample supply.

The Council will welcome comment on this report or additional information on any aspect of minority employment problems or progress.

All other considerations aside, I take it that today there can be no responsible disagreement with two crucial points: (a) that merit employment is sound and workable business practice, and (b) that the national interest and possibly survival absolutely require total, rational manpower development and utilization. In this situation it is clear that perpetuation of old habits of group discrimination in employment and related processes affecting training and upgrading is both senseless and dangerous to the national welfare.

DANIEL E. KOSHLAND, Chairman
Committee on Civil Rights Inventory
Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There was help from many people in the research underlying this report and in its preparation. The study was made possible by a generous grant from the Columbia Foundation and by the continuing support of members and contributors of the Council for Civic Unity. Assurances of anonymity given respondents preclude our thanking by name the individual employers, union officials and members, private employment agency managers, college placement officers, Department of Employment personnel, and others who provided valuable information.

Technical advice on various phases of the study was given by a number of research specialists at Bay Area universities and research centers. Valuable suggestions were made by Maurice Gershenson, Chief, Division of Statistics and Research, State Department of Industrial Relations; Dr. Ernest R. Hilgard, Psychology Department, Stanford University; Dr. Bertrand Klass, Stanford Research Institute; Dr. Samuel Kohs, former Area Secretary, National Jewish Welfare Board; Richard Roberts, College of Business Administration, University of San Francisco; and by the following members of the University of California faculty: Dr. Herbert Blumer, then Chairman, Department of Sociology and Social Institutions, and Dr. Tamotsu Shibutani, from the same department; Dr. Arthur Ross, Director, and Mrs. Margaret Gordon, Associate Director, Institute of Industrial Relations; Dr. George Kuznets, Department of Agricultural Economics; Dr. Davis McEntire, School of Social Welfare; Dr. F. Theodore Malm, School of Business Administration; Dr. David Mandelbaum, Chairman, Department of Anthropology.

The cooperation of Arthur Kezer, then a graduate student in the University of California School of Business Administration, was extremely helpful in connection with union and employer practices in the hotel and restaurant fields.

Among many volunteers who assisted in data collection, in reporting experiences, and in various other ways, special thanks are due Marshall Axelrod for effective service in directing a volunteer team in one significant aspect of the study, and to the Bay Area Service League for similar assistance. Our deep appreciation is extended to numerous other volunteers and sources of information whom it is not possible to list by name.

Organizations which provided helpful data included the Research Department of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, AFL Committee to Combat Intol-

erance, Jewish Labor Committee, Urban League, American Jewish Congress, International Institute, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, San Francisco Jewish Community Relations Council, American Jewish Committee, American Friends Service Committee, and Japanese American Citizens League. The State Department of Employment very kindly arranged for us to interview a large sample of its placement officers and other personnel; special mention is due Charles F. B. Roeth, then area manager of the Department, and Marc Johnson, then deputy, now area manager. The President's Committee on Government Contracts provided much useful background information. Helpful material on interview schedules and methodology was provided by Dr. Herman H. Long, Director, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association.

We are indebted to chairman Daniel E. Koshland and to the members of the Council's Committee on the Civil Rights Inventory, as to the Council presidents during the period of the study -- all mentioned elsewhere -- for their counsel and encouragement.

For six months Lynn Reynolds, graduate student in sociology at the University of California, was our research assistant. His skillful interviewing of employers, placement agency managers, and Department of Employment personnel constituted a major portion of our field work. He also analyzed a large share of the interview data.

Our thanks for devoted and capable secretarial aid go to Lillian Rutenberg, Anna Rind, and Martha Henke.

Dr. Helen E. Amerman, Council assistant director, performed the large and exacting task of technical editing, supervision of stenciling, and proofing of the final manuscript. Her suggestions and assistance at various points were highly valuable. Neither she nor any of the other advisers or Committee members, however, bear responsibility for the content of the report, this resting entirely with the writers.

The writers collaborated in the research design, preparation of interview schedules, and analysis of data. Dr. Babow, as research coordinator for the study, supervised and participated in the interviewing and other collection of data, assembled the basic findings, and wrote the first draft of the report. Mr. Howden edited the entire volume, added analyses of certain data, reworked or expanded various portions -- especially interpretive and concluding sections -- and is responsible for the report's final form.

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Chapter I. INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

A. Introduction

This report is Part I of the broader study, A Civil Rights Inventory of San Francisco, conducted under the auspices of the Council for Civic Unity of this city with the assistance of a grant from the Columbia Foundation. The survey as a whole was planned and carried out over a period of twenty-two months, from November, 1954 through August, 1956. The actual gathering of data on employment practices for this Part I took place, with minor exceptions, over a period of approximately seven months beginning in November, 1955.

Parts II, III, and IV of this report, to follow in separate volumes, will deal with opportunities for and problems affecting minority-group San Franciscans in hospital and health facilities, housing, and public accommodations, respectively.

The Civil Rights Inventory is the first attempt at a reasonably comprehensive study of the foregoing questions since the 1944 survey, The Negro War Worker in San Francisco, directed by Charles S. Johnson. Certain differences in the aims of these two studies and the general community conditions prevailing should perhaps be noted. The Johnson study was made during World War II, when conditions were in many respects different from those of a decade later. The city's nonwhite population, although greatly expanded in the war years, was substantially smaller than today. The earlier study dealt with the Negro war worker, whereas our present report includes practices affecting several groups in the city: those identified by race, ancestry, or culture as Negro, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Latin American, or Jewish. In addition, respondents in our study were given the opportunity to report on any other racial, religious, or ethnic group they chose to place in a "minority-group" category.

We do not attempt in the present study to compare the status of minority-group San Franciscans today with that of an earlier period, nor to draw comparisons between this and other cities. Our primary aim in this employment portion -- as in other parts -- of the study has been to ascertain actual present employment practices and, in some cases, the rationale for these practices. The importance of such an approach in studying the status of opportunities is emphasized by Wormser and Selltitz:

Practices -- what people do in relation to minority groups -- have a much more direct effect on the actual living conditions of members of minority groups than have attitudes -- how people feel toward minority groups. While people's actions are always connected in some manner with the way they think and feel, thought and feeling are not always directly reflected in action; and it is actions which constitute discrimination or nondiscrimination, the granting or refusal of civil rights.¹

In this employment phase of the study, the desirability of focusing on actual practices is further supported by research indicating the dangers of contrary emphasis on subjective aspects. For example, the Office of Public Opinion Research at Princeton tested the following question on a cross section of the population: "Do you think Negroes have as good a chance as white people to get jobs?" Each person interviewed was also asked certain questions designed to discover if he was strongly prejudiced against Negroes. It was found that those who were most biased were most likely to answer "yes" to the question about job opportunities for Negroes; about two-thirds of those showing prejudice said that Negroes enjoy employment opportunity equal to that of whites. On the other hand, approximately two-thirds of the respondents who were genuinely sympathetic toward Negroes believed that they do not have equal chances for jobs.

Concerning this Princeton study, statistician Darrell Huff observes that from such a poll some things might be learned about a man's attitudes toward people of other races, but little if anything is discovered about actual employment conditions affecting Negroes. If prejudice happens to be mounting during a polling period, there will be more answers to the effect that Negroes have as good a chance at jobs as whites -- whereas, in fact, the reverse might be true, and a situation of extensive employment discrimination might exist in correlation with the frequently expressed attitude that all is well.²

The purpose of this employment part of the San Francisco Civil Rights Inventory is not to praise or blame any person, organization, firm, or

¹Margot Haas Wormser and Claire Selltiz, How to Conduct a Community Self-Survey on Civil Rights (New York: Association Press, 1951), p. 7.

²Darrell Huff, How to Lie with Statistics (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1954), pp. 75-76.

group, but to obtain as accurate and complete a picture as possible of the current practices affecting minority-group persons which characterize the institutions and personnel who hold the power and responsibility for recruitment, hiring, and upgrading of workers in private industry. Employers, union leaders, and placement people interviewed were given assurance that no names of respondents, firms, or organizations would be used in this report except with specific permission. In keeping with our purpose, we also refrain here from identifying -- and, in fact, take some pains to disguise -- firms or groups concerning which we obtained information through independent techniques or sources, even though no pledge of anonymity was involved. The research methods employed are summarized later in this chapter.

The criterion which appeared to be the most useful and relevant for this study is the concept of equal treatment, as described by Wormser and Selltitz:

Any investigation of the status of civil rights must have some standard of an ideal situation, deviation from which constitutes an unsatisfactory state of affairs. The survey pattern described here is based on the assumption that the American creed calls for equal opportunity for all individuals, regardless of race, color, religion, or national background. Equal opportunity is seen as having two major aspects -- access to all services, facilities, and so forth for all individuals on the same terms, and receipt by all individuals of equal value in return for equal investment (whether it be of effort, money, or whatever). The survey, then, seeks to discover whether all individuals do receive equal value in return for equal investment. . . to discover whether all individuals do have access to all facilities on the same terms; for example, whether all jobs are open to qualified members of all groups¹

In application to the employment field, the concept of equal treatment may perhaps be expressed best as merit or fair employment, or equal job opportunity. By merit employment we mean, briefly, the total absence of any consideration of factors of race, color, creed, or ancestry in referral, recruitment, hiring, upgrading, discharge, admission to union membership, or other conditions or terms of employment; plus sufficiently active and authoritative administration of this policy -- including adequate communication of it both within the organization and in the labor market -- to effectuate its practical implementation. Further discussion of the requisites of a full and

¹Wormser and Selltitz, op. cit., p. 8.

consistent merit employment policy will be found in Chapters II, V, and XII.

Our object is not to judge, but to describe and analyze. Some of the key points on which we sought data are these: whether employers are aware of and are utilizing the manpower of minority-group workers; whether there is underemployment of such workers; whether stereotypes which prevailed in the past are operational factors today in hiring and upgrading of nonwhite and other minority workers; whether employers generally establish, communicate, and implement a definite policy of merit employment; the roles of unions, private and public employment agencies, and college placement offices in recruitment, referral, and placement of minority workers; the present distribution of the minority labor force by occupation and industry, in comparison with nonminority workers; the apparatus, techniques, and rationale of those who still engage in restrictive job practices; and the experience of employers and others whose policies conform to the above standard of merit employment.

Finally, we wish to emphasize that there is no necessary or inevitable connection between discriminatory practices, where such exist, and personal prejudice on the part of key individuals. It is widely recognized among students of intergroup relations that restrictive behavior in specific cases may or may not flow from the private convictions or attitudes of those who act in such fashion. As early as 1945 Joseph E. Weckler, then chairman of the Department of Anthropology, University of Southern California, wrote:

Race prejudice is frequently cited as the cause of resistance by labor and management to the employment and upgrading of Negroes and members of other minority groups. It is true that stereotyped ideas about different racial and cultural groups furnish a ready outlet for antagonisms implicit in these situations. But it is equally true that in many industries, where stereotyped, unfavorable ideas about minorities also are present, Negroes have been hired and upgraded in large numbers during the past few years without occasioning more than a ripple of temporary objections. "Race prejudice" does not account for the observed variations in resistance to Negro upgrading¹

Robert K. Merton has called attention to the four combinations which are to be found in different individuals in various community and institutional settings. He lists the unprejudiced nondiscriminator and the prejudiced discriminator at opposite positions, with two other types between: the unprejudiced discrimini-

¹Joseph E. Weckler, "Prejudice Is Not the Whole Story," The Public Opinion Quarterly, Summer, 1945, p. 126.

minor and the prejudiced nondiscriminator.¹ There are, simply, individuals who hold little or no prejudice yet who engage in discriminatory activities in conformity with certain policies or customs or pressures. And there are others who may have strong antiminority feelings yet who, in their outward roles in the employment field, abide by established nondiscriminatory policies. One may find instances of either of these two mixed types (and perhaps fewer examples of the other two) among, for example, individual personnel directors, department heads, employment agency personnel, or union officials. The scientifically-minded personnel director may be quite uncomfortable in rejecting otherwise qualified job applicants on racial grounds because this practice is traditional in the firm. A department head may be personally indifferent as to whether to upgrade a nonwhite employee, but may decide to "play it safe" since company policy is silent on this point and there is no precedent for such a promotion. An employment agency manager might be prejudiced against a certain racial or religious group, yet respond promptly to a job order from an important corporation client specifying the best qualified stenographer irrespective of minority identity. Or a union official may encounter difficulty with some of his members when he tries to implement the nondiscrimination policy set forth in the constitution and bylaws of the international union to which his local is affiliated.

Our sole point in raising these distinctions is to remind the reader that as we report and discuss the findings of this study concerning employment practices we are not necessarily imputing personal prejudice or lack of it to individuals concerned. This is, of course, not to say that no one in a firm or employment agency or union is to be held responsible for policies and practices entailing discrimination; only to emphasize again that in this study our primary concern is not to analyze attitudes or motivation but to describe the overt behavior and operating assumptions of all main parties to the employment processes as they affect members of minority groups in this city.

B. Plan of Presentation

Chapter II covers employment practices as reported by the employers themselves. The major part consists of an analysis of our interviews with 100

¹Robert K. Merton, "Discrimination and the American Creed," in R.M. MacIver (ed.), Discrimination and National Welfare (New York: Harper and Bros., 1949), pp. 103-10.

employers in large and medium-size firms in San Francisco in the winter of 1955-56. Also included are data obtained from management representatives at three management and guidance conferences and, by way of background, certain findings of a labor market survey of the San Francisco Bay Area by the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California. The Institute interviewed 340 Bay Area private employers in 1949, and in 1955 published some of its findings.

Material from various "informal" sources such as nonexecutive personnel is reported in the third chapter, and this information is compared with data from employers who were interviewed as official spokesmen for their firms. In addition, this chapter analyzes a poll which a management association took of its members regarding employment of nonwhites in their firms.

Next is a report on direct observation of employment of Negroes and Orientals in jobs visible to the public in a number of firms.

Union practices regarding admission to membership and job referral of minority workers, and the functions of unions with respect to training opportunities, placement, and upgrading, are discussed in Chapter V. The different roles and degrees of power in these matters from one union to another are analyzed. The principal sources here were union officials and members. Also summarized at this point are data developed at our request by the State Department of Industrial Relations regarding nondiscrimination clauses in union contracts in the San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Area.

There follows next a case study of union and employer practices in a major service industry -- hotels and restaurants. The material concerning this industry was obtained in cooperation with Arthur M. Kezer.

Discussion of the role of private employment agencies and a report of extensive interviews with managers of such agencies are presented in Chapter VII.

Information obtained in interviews with public placement officers at the State Department of Employment is reported in Chapter VIII.

Chapter IX relates the experience of Bay Area college placement offices.

Chapter X reports a content analysis of classified employment advertisements in the four major San Francisco dailies for the month of August, 1955.

Next the application forms used by various California State licensing boards for certain professions and businesses are analyzed. A classification

is made of questions asked by these boards with reference to race, color, religion, or national origin.

Appended. is an analysis of the distribution of nonwhite and Latin American workers by occupation and industry. This analysis is based mainly on data from the 1950 United States Census. Background data on the Negro worker are also presented from the article by Davis McEntire and Judith Tarnopol, "Postwar Status of Negro Workers in San Francisco," in the Monthly Labor Review, June, 1950.

C. Notes on Research Procedures

It is evident from the foregoing that the research underlying this report consisted of a many-faceted approach, as we sought to gather and interpret data on employment practices affecting minority-group workers and their occupational distribution. This approach has the obvious, common-sense value of affording various cross-checks on the information or claims emanating from any one source. Not only was this multiple-source procedure desirable for the sake of a valid and significant result; it appeared to be a necessity, since a study of this sort, in the period and locale in which it was conducted, faced a number of obstacles or handicaps.

In some cases candid revelation of fact was unquestionably inhibited by the highly "sensitive" nature of the general field of inquiry, especially in the view of employers, but also in that of some placement people, union officials, and others involved in employment processes. We have in mind not only the widely accepted belief that problems of interethnic relations are emotion-laden and "touchy," but the specific experience of at least two university-sponsored studies undertaken in recent years in the Bay Area which directed inquiries on these questions to private employers. In one instance a projected survey relying on a mail questionnaire was abandoned after a pilot effort encountered an almost complete absence of response. The other example arose in connection with the labor-market study of the University of California's Institute of Industrial Relations, referred to above. The interviewers in that study discussed with each employer a series of questions on recruitment preferences and practices, with no reference to racial or religious considerations until the final question was reached. Yet they found that almost without exception, these otherwise satisfactory interviews became difficult, the respondents suddenly on guard and defensive, when that final ques-

tion was posed; this, even though rapport between interviewer and employer had been well established, and the question phrased not in terms of "discrimination" but as an inquiry into the employer's "experience with minority workers." The fact that both of the above efforts to quiz employers about their practices with regard to nonwhite and other minority workers came from universities of excellent reputation, and with strong guarantees of anonymity to the persons and firms responding, apparently helped little in reducing the "sensitive" character of the inquiry.

Why the special tension and defensiveness surrounding this kind of inquiry? Bearing in mind the time-place context of the present study, the contributory factors appear to be several:

1. Acknowledged public morality in San Francisco generally frowns upon discrimination by reason of race, ancestry, or religion. Jim Crow has no respectable public champions, and almost no open spokesmen of any sort. Most major community leaders -- including those concerned with employment processes -- declare themselves firmly against race restrictive practices; and when they are obliged to admit on occasion that such practices persist in certain quarters it is customary to place responsibility on other parties, e.g. customers, clients, neighbors, employees, employers, constituencies, and the like. In short, our professed mores support the principle of equal treatment and condemn its opposite, discrimination.

2. Yet there is unequal treatment of members of the working force -- employment discrimination -- just as there is still inequality in housing opportunity and in other aspects of our community life. This contradiction disturbs some of us at one time or another. The resulting sense of uneasiness becomes sharper when we confront the facts, or feel threatened with their possible revelation -- as when an outsider comes in to study the situation. His findings, even though never identified publicly with the company, or union, or placement office, may be embarrassing privately, intellectually, morally. The implications of a disparity between preachment and practice, if such is the case, are distinctly discomforting, at least to some. Most humans understandably incline, under such circumstances, to gloss over inconsistent policies and unpleasant realities, and to present the most favorable possible self-portrait. We are all against sin in this matter of intergroup relations; many of us practice or compromise with it; yet who in the civic or economic world will willingly confess it? The odds are thus clearly against securing from most of those who share in employment policy-making a fully objective picture, a clinically

accurate analysis.

3. Since discrimination is contrary to publicly acceptable morality, admitting its presence would be considered bad "public relations" for most businesses, organizations, or institutions. Conversely, it is assumed to be advantageous to make a "good impression" as to the extent to which the merit employment principle is observed.

4. Since many large firms hold contracts with the Federal Government, and since those contracts contain antidiscrimination provisions which have been publicized in recent years and which are capable of enforcement, top management spokesmen are bound to be extremely cautious about offering any information which would suggest that their practices violate these important contracts.

5. Fear of enactment of fair employment legislation at state or local levels provides a further motive impelling some employers and others to minimize discrimination and to paint an overly favorable picture of the treatment accorded minority workers and applicants. This fear may have seriously hampered the study, coming when it did, since (a) state and local employer associations had vociferously and categorically opposed FEPC bills over the preceding decade; (b) a state FEPC measure had for the first time passed the lower house of the State Legislature earlier in the same year in which our employer interviews began; and (c) two near-successful efforts on behalf of a local San Francisco equal employment ordinance had taken place in the preceding six years, the second having lost by only one vote -- this in turn indicating sufficient strength among the proponents to constitute a continuing "threat" that the issue would be reopened. Finally, the principal argument of employer associations in their successful opposition to such legislation in California had always been either that their members did not discriminate or were voluntarily making reasonable progress on this score, and hence there was no need or justification for a law. In San Francisco especially there had been much emphasis by employers on "voluntary" plans of their own for reducing employment discrimination. Against this background, it is obvious that for major employers to admit to the continuing existence of substantially restricted job opportunity would be to contradict the repeated public claims of their representatives and to invite enactment of the laws they seem to fear.

Altogether, then, it is reasonable to assume that many employers and placement personnel (whose function is determined primarily by employers) as

well as some others among our sources for the present report, would be inclined to present their policies and practices in the most favorable light possible. Indeed, it would be naive to assume that what we were told constituted, in all cases, a candid and complete report on the given firm or organization. As will be noted in Chapter II, some employers interviewed would neither attempt an estimate of numbers or percentages of claimed minority employees in certain capacities nor undertake to secure such information (for nonwhite workers) through the fairly accurate and simple device of an observational count. While by no means conclusive, responses of this nature plus various internal inconsistencies and conflicting data from other sources appear to support the foregoing reservations as to the complete reliability of some of the interview material.

(We wish to emphasize that there is no intention here to single out people in the employment field as being less candid about discrimination within their orbit than other key people in their respective spheres. This tendency to deny or understate the facts of racially differential treatment is surely widespread in our society today.)

In any event, the above considerations underscored the necessity -- if our findings were to reflect actual practices with reasonable accuracy -- of pursuing numerous channels of investigation. The result is a report of much greater volume than planned, but also, we believe, richer in data and more valuable to the community than a narrower study would have been. Some of these sources seem to us to have yielded information closer to the whole truth than others; and so certain of the following chapters, we believe, contain more valid accounts as to the extent of San Francisco's remaining problems of unequal job opportunity. Nevertheless, all findings of substance are offered here irrespective of our own judgment of their final worth. We have of course endeavored in the presentation to distinguish between direct reporting of what we observed, were told, tabulated, or compiled, on the one hand, and the interpretive material and conclusions, on the other.

One further, important point must be made with reference to the report as a whole, and especially with regard to portions based on responses from employers and placement offices. The point is that if bias or distortion of fact is present in this study, it is bias on the side of an over-optimistic picture of the status of equal employment opportunity in San Francisco. In other words, these findings are conservative as to the gravity and extent of job discrimi-

nation in this city. If the report is biased in any direction, it is in the direction favored by those who believe that San Francisco's remaining problems of minority employment are relatively few and our rate of progress eminently satisfactory.

Finally, let us note that despite the "sensitive" character of our inquiry and the inevitable tendency away from full candor on the part of many respondents, our interviewers were on the whole extended excellent cooperation. It is probably accurate to state that most of the respondents perceived something of the importance of building a body of reliable information as to the city's present minority employment practices, and tried to go as far as they felt they could in contributing their share of that information. All things considered, the surprising aspect of our interviews of the 100 employers is not that we learned less than the whole story, but that so much of the story was told.

The specific research techniques utilized in this study included interviews, direct observation of employment of nonwhites, a mailed questionnaire, participant observation at conferences, newspaper content analysis, case histories reporting personal experiences, analysis of published and unpublished reports and studies of occupational distribution and employment practices, and examination of application blanks of state licensing boards. Following are some notes on our use of these research techniques. More detail on methodology is given in each chapter.

Interviews were conducted with 100 major employers in private industry, with managers of 28 private employment agencies, with 21 placement officers in the State Department of Employment, with approximately 30 union officials and members, with 5 college placement people, and with executives or officers of 11 minority, interethnic, and antidiscrimination organizations in San Francisco.

Direct observation of jobs held by nonwhites was used to ascertain the approximate number and percentage of Negroes and Orientals in various jobs which are visible to the public. This observational method was used at 15 department and specialty stores, 3 restaurant chains, a bank chain and 3 other banks, a grocery chain, and a service station chain. The interviews at 28 private employment agencies also made possible observations on the employment of nonwhites in those establishments. While interviewing 64 real estate brokers and officials of 12 lending institutions in connec-

tion with the housing phase of this survey, the observational method was also used. This technique applied only to Negro and Oriental workers because such a method is wholly unreliable for identifying Latin American and Jewish persons.

A mailed questionnaire on "Experiences and Practices of Placement Officers of Colleges in the San Francisco Bay Region Regarding Job Placement of Minority Group Members" was sent to 65 of these officers. Responses were received from 45, 69 per cent of those receiving the questionnaire. This procedure was supplemented by the five interviews noted above.

A case study of a major service industry was completed in cooperation with Arthur M. Kezer, who permitted us to use the data from his unpublished research study for the Master's degree in business administration at the University of California, January, 1956. His study, The Problem of Upgrading in a Multi-racial Service Industry, is discussed in detail in Chapter VI of this report.

Analysis of published and unpublished reports included business, employment, and population data from the United States Census and other government publications such as County Business Patterns, First Quarter 1953; reports from the State Department of Employment, the Division of Statistics and Research of the State Department of Industrial Relations, and the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce; research studies by several unions; and several articles on the labor market survey of the San Francisco Bay Area by the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California.

Previous studies of minority workers in the San Francisco area which were examined included: The Negro War Worker in San Francisco by Charles S. Johnson, 1944; The Treatment of Negro American Workers by the A.F.L. and C.I.O. in the San Francisco Bay Area by Fred Stripp, 1948; "Post-war Status of Negro War Workers in San Francisco" by Davis McEntire, Monthly Labor Review, June, 1950; and The Labor Force in California, 1900 - 1950 by Davis McEntire, 1952.

The participant-observer method at conferences was useful in obtaining supplementary data. Three management and guidance conferences held in the San Francisco Bay Area during 1956 were attended at which this technique was used.

Newspaper content analysis revealed the proportion and types of classified employment advertisements with direct and indirect ethnic specifications or with indications of merit hiring practices. The employment advertisements appearing in the four San Francisco metropolitan dailies during a one-month

period (August, 1955) were analyzed. In addition, a number of ethnic newspapers were examined from November, 1954 to August, 1956 for editorials and news stories on employment discrimination, "success stories" in upgrading and merit employment in San Francisco firms, and for advertisements describing or depicting minority workers employed by particular companies. The ethnic publications which were read included two directed to Negro readership, one Chinese, three Japanese, and one Jewish.

Case histories were obtained in a limited number of instances from minority-group members. They reported their experiences in seeking work through private employment agencies, college placement offices, and at personnel offices of business firms. Informal accounts of experiences and practices in several companies were also obtained from nonexecutive personnel, both minority and nonminority group members.

The application forms used by State licensing boards for admission to the practice of various professions or business callings were analyzed. All 17 of the boards from which forms were requested responded. The forms were checked for questions regarding the race, color, religion, or national origin of applicants.

A poll by a management association of its members in San Francisco regarding employment of nonwhite workers in their respective firms was analyzed. This poll was taken independently of, and prior to, this report and was made available through the cooperation of the association.

Chapter II. EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES AS REPORTED BY PRIVATE EMPLOYERS

It seemed proper that our inquiry as to the status of employment opportunity for minority-group San Franciscans should turn first to the employers themselves. This chapter reports information and opinion secured directly from private employers in this city.

Our main reliance in this connection was upon interviews which we conducted with 100 employers in private industry in San Francisco in 1955-56. The first and principal section of this chapter is based upon those interviews. Points covered included: claims as to company policy with respect to hiring and upgrading of minority-group workers, and implementation thereof; estimated numbers and distribution of minority employees; reasons given by employers for not hiring such workers or for taking them in certain jobs only; evaluation of experience with minority employees; contents of preemployment application forms; and relationship to the nondiscrimination program of the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

The second section of this chapter gives an analysis of data obtained from statements of management spokesmen at recent management and guidance conferences in which there was representation of various firms and industries. Although the conferences were not directed at questions relating to merit employment and work-force integration, these subjects were discussed to some extent in response to questions by our participant observer.

This chapter's concluding section summarizes relevant data from a 1949 survey (published in 1955) of the San Francisco Bay Area labor market, conducted by the Institute of Industrial Relations at the University of California. That study involved interviews of 340 private employers in the Bay Area. Its subject matter was much broader than that of the present inquiry, but the employers were asked one general question concerning their experience with minority-group workers. This portion of the Institute study provides, we believe, valuable supplementation to our more recent material.

It is important to bear in mind that this chapter reflects what private employers themselves said about their policies and practices. Here, as elsewhere in this volume, our attention is mainly on practices, our analysis seeking to ascertain as fully and clearly as possible the actual treatment of

persons of minority groups in the employment processes in private industry in San Francisco. To this end it will be necessary to attempt to evaluate the employer responses -- as well as every other set of data reported -- not only in terms of their internal consistency but also in reference to the information secured from all other sources.

A. Interviews of 100 Major Employers

1. Methodology and Sample

Interviews with 100 major private employers in San Francisco were conducted from November, 1955 through February, 1956 by a trained research assistant using a pretested schedule. Letters were sent in advance to the heads of 110 business firms by the chairman of the survey committee, who is himself a businessman. The purpose of the study was explained and assurance given that names of respondents or firms would not be used unless specifically authorized, and that copies of the report would be sent to interested participants. An interview was requested with the head of the firm or with a person designated by him.

Six employers, approximately 5 per cent of those contacted, refused to grant interviews. Four others were not interviewed after the initial contact because they indicated that hiring was done in company headquarters in another city, that almost none of their employees worked in San Francisco, or for similar reasons. That practically all of the employers who were contacted cooperated by granting interviews obviates the possibility of bias in the findings due to a sizable proportion of nonrespondents.

The minority groups referred to in the interviews included those identified by race or ancestry as Negro, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, or Latin American, and those of Jewish faith; with opportunity afforded the respondents to include any other group they might consider in a minority status by reason of race, religion, or ancestry. Generally, the respondents combined information on Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino workers in the category "Oriental." Responses concerning Latin Americans referred predominantly to persons of Mexican descent.

The sample of 100 employers was selected from the most recent directories published by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, Two Thousand Business Firms in San Francisco and Approximate Employment, (data gathered in 1953 on

2,078 firms), and Large Manufacturers Directory: Manufacturers in the 12 Bay Region Counties Employing 100 or More, 1954. The use of these directories presented the problem of taking into account the births and deaths of business firms and changes in the numbers employed since the data were compiled. The Research Department of the Chamber of Commerce indicated that there were few substantial changes in these matters in the period intervening between its compilations and our interviews. Since the directories gave the number of employees in each firm with relative accuracy, the firms could be ranked by number of workers. The size groupings in the present study were the same as those used by the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, in its study of the San Francisco Bay Area labor market¹:

<u>Size Group</u>	<u>Number of Employees</u>
Very small	1-29
Small	30-99
Medium	100-499
Large.	500 or more

It was originally planned that the sample of employers to be interviewed would include some small and very small employers. However, because of limitations of time and staff, it was possible to complete only 100 interviews with 48 large employers, 50 of medium size, and only 1 small and 1 very small employer. The interviews may therefore be regarded as being approximately half with large firms and half with medium-sized firms. The Chamber directory of over 2,000 firms lists 51 companies with 500 or more employees, large establishments by our definition. We endeavored to cover all firms in this range. The sample of 48 large firms actually interviewed means that 94 per cent, or almost all, of the large firms listed were covered. The directory lists 295 firms with 100-499 employees, medium by this definition. The sample of 50 firms covered in this category included 17 per cent, or approximately one-sixth, of the medium-sized firms. For these firms we followed stratified random sampling to cover the various industries.

The relative absence of small and very small firms from the sample probably creates a bias since according to the Institute of Industrial Relations smaller firms in the San Francisco Bay Area tend to be more restric-

¹F. Theodore Malm, "Hiring Procedures and Selection Standards in the San Francisco Bay Area," Reprint No. 64, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley, 1955, p. 232.

tive than the larger in hiring minority workers. The Institute finds that large firms on the average appear to have (or express) more favorable attitudes toward the employment of Negroes, reporting more frequently that they will hire them, even though, in some cases, only for low-level jobs.¹ The Institute study points out why the size of a firm, both in absolute terms and relative to other companies in the labor market, affects its personnel practices:

Larger firms are more "visible," in that they are likely to be better known and more prominent in a community. The effect of this is twofold: (1) Larger firms attract more job applicants through direct hiring, and so need to rely relatively less on unions, employment agencies, and other placement channels in order to recruit workers. (2) The "public relations" effects of personnel and industrial relations policies may be considered somewhat more carefully, so that the large firm, for example, is less likely to say that it is unwilling to hire such minority groups as Negroes, Orientals, or Jews.²

Of the 2,078 firms listed in the Chamber of Commerce directory, approximately two-thirds (1,398) have from 10-49 employees; and 331 have from 50-99, making a total of 1,729 businesses or 83 per cent which are small or very small. Of the remaining establishments, 298 or almost 15 per cent are medium; and 51, approximately 2.5 per cent, are large. Actually the percentage of small and very small firms is much greater and that of large and medium firms is smaller than suggested by the Chamber of Commerce directory of 2,078 firms. The latter comprise less than one-tenth of the employers in San Francisco. The government report, County Business Patterns - First Quarter, 1953³, lists 23,090 reporting units (employers) in this city with 339,836 employees under the Old Age and Survivors Insurance Program. The classification of size groupings in that report is slightly different from the one used in the present study. The following table takes the figures from that report.

¹Ibid., p. 247.

²F. Theodore Malm, "Employer Practices and Labor Mobility," Reprint No. 75, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley, 1955, p. 7.

³Part 10, Pacific States and Territories, (Washington: U.S. Dept. of Commerce and Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1955), p. 43.

TABLE 1. 23,090 EMPLOYERS IN SAN FRANCISCO, BY NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES^a

Size of Firm	Number of Employees	Employers	
		Number	Per-Cent
Very small	0-19	20,408	88.4
Small	20-99	2,170	9.4
Medium	100-499	456	2.0
Large	500 and over	56	.2
Total		23,090	100.0

^aSource: County Business Patterns - First Quarter, 1953, Part 10, Pacific States and Territories (Washington: U.S. Dept. of Commerce and Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1955), p. 43.

These data indicate that the great majority of employers in San Francisco, approximately 98 per cent, are either small or very small, having under 100 employees; and that 88 per cent of the total have fewer than 20 employees. But the medium and large firms, while a small percentage of the total, account for a large part of the work force. This is illustrated by the fact that the 100 employers interviewed reported a total of 87,734¹ employees in San Francisco, approximately a quarter of the total work force in private industry. These 100 employers have jurisdiction over a much larger number of employees outside San Francisco as well; the total, including the firms' employees in this city, is a little over a half million, 522,226.¹

Table 2 shows the distribution by industry of the employers interviewed.

The respondents interviewed in the 100 firms were executives in the upper levels of management or persons authorized by senior executives to speak for the management. As Table 3 indicates, about half of the interviews were with the personnel directors. In several instances during interviews with presidents, vice presidents, or managers, these executives asked personnel officers to come in to assist in the response.

¹When an employer gave a range, the median was used in computing this total.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION BY INDUSTRY OF 100 EMPLOYERS INTERVIEWED^a

Type of Industry	Number of Firms Interviewed (Identical with Per Cent)
Manufacturing	36
Durable	7
Nondurable	29
Building and construction	4
Wholesale trade	6
Retail trade	15
Finance and insurance	10
Public utilities, transportation, & communications	19
Service (e.g., hotels, restaurants, building maintenance)	10
Total	100

^aReal estate was not included in this sample in the usual classification along with finance and insurance because 64 real estate firms were interviewed in connection with a major part of this study devoted to housing. Limited data on these firms are given in Chapter IV of this volume.

The data on employment practices in hospitals, based on interviews with 19 hospital directors and other sources of information, are also not included in this sample. These findings are set forth in another main part of this study.

TABLE 3. POSITION IN FIRM OF 100 RESPONDENTS

Title	Number (Identical with Per Cent)
Personnel director	46
Manager (e.g., territorial, division, district, group, plant)	16
President	9
Supervisor, director, or manager of employment, labor relations, industrial relations, or employee relations . .	8
Vice president	7
Superintendent	5
Business manager	4
Secretary-treasurer	1
Assistant to vice president	1
Public relations director	1
Director of staff planning	1
Supervisor of organization	1
Total	100

We turn now to the responses of the 100 San Francisco employers.

2. The Question of Management Policy on Merit Employment

Although this study's primary concern is with actual practices as distinguished from professions of principle, it seemed essential to request at one point in each employer interview information on the firm's policy with respect to employment of minority-group persons. The respondent was asked in part: (a) whether his firm had "a definite policy of integration or merit employment for qualified workers whatever their race, religion, or national origin," (b) whether he would quote this statement of policy, and (c) how this policy was "made known to, and implemented by, the various levels of personnel."

We had anticipated -- for reasons suggested in the preceding chapter -- that virtually all of these important firms would assert that their employment policies were strictly against the generally acknowledged sin of discrimination. Yet 26 (or 26 per cent) made no claim to such a policy, 21 not answering the question and 5 stating that they did not have such a policy. Of the other 74 respondents, 65 answered affirmatively and 9, while not recorded explicitly in the affirmative, did in effect report a merit employment practice, and, by a liberal interpretation, may be classified along with the 65, making a total of 74.

May we then, on the basis of these statements, conclude that almost three-quarters of these major San Francisco firms are administered in full and consistent accord with the principle of equal employment opportunity, and that the other one-quarter are not? How are we to interpret these policy claims in terms of actual employment practices affecting minority-group persons? Although on the surface conclusions such as the above might appear reasonable, considerable doubt arises if one examines the answers critically and checks them against other statements by the same respondents.

First, it will be noted that the interviewer asked if the firm had a definite policy of merit employment, not whether the policy was formal or written. This afforded a broad basis for responding affirmatively, since to do so the policy in question needed only to be reasonably conscious and clear. It was to this question that 74 answered, in effect, "yes," and 26 either said "no" or did not reply. At the same time, it would hardly be "definite policy" if there were merely the intention or objective of achieving it over some future period, or if it were not effectively communicated

to all employees concerned at various levels within the company.

The second question in this series asked for quotation of the policy statement. But it soon became evident that there were almost no formulated policy declarations among the respondents, so the interviewer recorded whatever statement, however impromptu or informal, was offered at this point. Even though following this somewhat liberal interpretation of the responses, there were only 12 among the 74 affirmative answers that could be reasonably construed as efforts to enunciate a policy. Of the rest, 55 indicated that the policy was implicit or understood, and 7 did not answer. Thus only 12 per cent of all the respondents articulated some sort of merit or non-restrictive employment policy on behalf of their respective firms.

Following are comments by some of the 55 respondents who said they had nonexplicit merit policies:

Absolutely silent; haven't dignified it by having policy at all. (Financial institution)

Whatever works out with the union. (Nondurable manufacturing)

No explicit policy. Flexibility, individual judgment. (Nondurable manufacturing)

Don't give a damn who they are if they can get the work done. (Nondurable manufacturing)

Implicit. Know a lot of policies that aren't in writing. (Nondurable manufacturing)

Economically unfeasible at times but hire when can. (Transportation)

Impractical to discuss the policy with some superintendents. By own actions set an example. (Durable manufacturing)

These few examples of explanatory remarks by employers indicate that "definite policy" had different meanings for various respondents, from the "absolutely silent" approach, to the "don't give a damn who they are," to those who revealed that the company "policy" is in fact quite flexible, depending for its realization on "individual judgment," "whatever works out with the union," or the personal predilections of certain superintendents. The latter type of comment would seem to qualify the claim of having a definite merit employment policy to the point that it becomes rather questionable. If there are numer-

ous and substantial exceptions to the practice of nondiscrimination, and if there is no generally understood rule within the firm governing its employment relations with minority-group workers, it is difficult to see how such a situation can be validly characterized as controlled by a definite merit policy. This analysis will be carried further below. One word of caution: no conclusive inferences as to actual practices are to be drawn solely from the fact that a given employer says his merit policy is silent, unstated, or implicit. Whereas in some -- perhaps many -- such instances the policy may be uneven, half-hearted, or even nonexistent, there are some firms which do combine informal policy with clear and thoroughgoing nondiscriminatory job practice. A particular company should not be judged, therefore, solely on the basis of having or not having an explicit policy.

The third question in this sequence which has significance for the present analysis was how the claimed merit policy was communicated to and implemented by personnel at various levels. On this point 9 of the 74 respondents mentioned some concrete or explicit form of communication from top management to other personnel. In 5 of these 9 firms, the respondents mentioned some type of publication -- bulletin, policy booklet, or management guide -- as their means of informing employees; 1 said simply "word of mouth"; another stated that employees are instructed at the time of hiring; and 2 firms reported that they transmit this policy information through regular channels from top management to supervisors and workers. Sixty-five of these employers did not refer to any methods of internal company communication or implementation of their claimed policies on merit hiring; of this group, 36 answered either negatively or not at all, 3 said that their policies were taken for granted among company personnel, and 26 stated that the policies were simply understood or implicit. Thus 88 per cent of those asserting a merit policy were lacking any specific practice whereby this policy was made known to all employees. It appeared, moreover, that few if any of the 9 employers who did report some degree of explicit implementation were following any clear, continuing program to reach all job levels and to back up the policy.

In any event, it is evident that 91 per cent of all the employers interviewed either did not claim to have a definite policy on nondiscriminatory employment or gave every indication of failing to exercise any method of implementation of such a policy.

Several employers emphasized that the best procedure, in their view, is "not to talk about it, but just to hire on merit without any fanfare." If this is done consistently throughout a business organization, and if this practice is made known to all recruitment sources, then indeed a policy of merit employment is being followed. But two points should be made concerning employers who want no "talk about it." First, they are speaking not of policy but of relative emphasis in the technique of implementing policy. Such an emphasis is undoubtedly applicable and desirable in many situations. But the distinction between basic policy and technique of administration should be kept clear. Secondly, policy cannot be implemented unless it is transmitted in some fashion, and with adequate clarity and authority, to all appropriate echelons and to recruitment sources. If there is absolutely no "talk" or other communication from management on down, or outward to the sources of labor, merit employment may be a good intention or a distant hope, but it hardly has the status of serious operational policy. In the great majority of firms claiming a definite policy of this nature, it seems to be elusive in statement and weak, haphazard, or altogether lacking in method of implementation.

To this point we have been examining only the employers' answers to the three main questions above relating to merit employment policy as such. Further light may be shed on this matter by checking the responses to certain other questions.

One of these other questions was:

In contacting private employment agencies or school and college placement offices to recruit employees, what is your practice in describing the requirements:

- (1) Direct or indirect specifications made regarding race, religion, or national origin. (Indicate the preferences stated.) _____
- (2) No specifications made regarding race, religion, or national origin. _____
- (3) Overt nondiscriminatory request (merit employment policy specified). _____

As was expected, not one firm reported that it used discriminatory specifications in placing job orders with these employment services. Thirteen respondents did not answer this question. Of the remaining 87 respondents,

84 (84 per cent) answered Number 2, saying that they used no such specifications. Only 3 indicated having informed the agencies that the company wished to hire on a merit basis.

The problem here is one of omission, not commission. "No specifications..." is unquestionably a decent and proper answer to this question. The difficulty is that a great many private and collegiate placement agencies continue to assume that ethnic restrictions laid down earlier by employers are still in force, and, accordingly, select and refer applicants on that basis.¹ If a given firm changes to a merit policy, and is serious about implementing it, that firm's personnel director is surely aware that unless he so informs the agencies with which he deals, there will be no minority-group applicants from those sources. At a later date, perhaps, it could be argued that once the new policy had been clearly established and communicated to the placement agencies, the "no specification..." approach would suffice. But the general presumption today on the part of placement people in this area is that there is strong employer resistance to nonwhites for many job categories; it follows that most employers who use such placement agencies and who are truly determined to have nonrestrictive recruitment and hiring must specifically mention that policy in placing job orders for some time to come.

Comparing the responses to the above question with those who said they follow definite merit employment policies yields this result: of the 74 employers claiming such policies, 4 did not answer the question (presumably because they do not utilize such placement agencies), 67 answered in terms of Number 2, and 3 responded to Number 3. This finding, while by no means conclusive in itself, suggests at best a weakness or inconsistency in the claimed merit policies of some of the employers -- those who answered merely that they do not express restrictions in job orders. It is probable that in most such cases the employer falls short of affirmative implementation of his stated policy.

Even more direct and compelling evidence of policy inconsistencies and contradictions within given firms is contained in various comments and bits of incidental information provided by the respondents themselves. In some cases these were remarks offered by the company spokesman in reply to the interviewer's request for the merit policy statement (several such comments

¹See Chapters VII and IX.

were cited above) or in response to queries as to implementation techniques and general experience with minority-group workers. In other instances the respondent was seeking to explain why no or few persons of a particular group were employed in certain categories within his firm, or giving his opinion as to how his business would be affected if such hiring were to take place, or pointing out that final employment authority was decentralized and beyond the reach of central company policy.

A detailed account of reasons given for limited employment among certain minority groups is presented below in section 4 of this chapter. At this point we wish simply to record and illustrate the fact that of the 74 employers who laid claim to a merit employment policy (whether explicit or otherwise), 35 in effect contradicted or modified that claim by other statements which acknowledged some form or degree of restrictive employment practice. Following are examples of such statements:

Nondurable Manufacturing

You can't change the thinking of department heads. There is prejudice even when management feels and tries for nondiscrimination.

Some departments don't want Negro clerical workers. Coworkers would object. . . Dealers wouldn't buy from nonwhite salesmen. . . Union doesn't have Negro or Oriental truck drivers, so doesn't send them to us.

On the whole the company has attempted to maintain equitable proportions of minority groups in relation to population. . . Try to get similar groups into small offices for obvious reasons, i.e. minority workers would otherwise feel out of place. . . Applicants are screened at this [central] office, but each division is autonomous in hiring -- has veto power.

There are not enough Negro stores to justify a route for a Negro salesman.

Actual supervisors do the hiring, therefore have the power of veto. Their practices vary tremendously.

Concerning Negro clerical workers...would want to get feelings of other employees before putting anyone to work. . . Can't risk morale of 49 people for introduction of one. But it could be done with the right woman.

This industry traditionally has not employed Negro clerical employees.

Durable Manufacturing

Nonwhite salesman couldn't get to first base. Has to talk with executives, city officials. High academic background is required.

I'm sorry to say that our having no Negro clerical workers is due to discrimination. . . Prejudice against workers in minority groups rests almost entirely with other workers... as a rule, employers have no prejudice but sometimes fear that employment of one good, for example, colored worker will cause the departure of two or three other good white workers.

Customers would object. There's an element of risk; we won't take it.

Public Utilities, Transportation, Communications

We couldn't send a Negro to interview a celebrity. The door would be shut in his face.

Unionized employees would object and go to grievance committee [if nonwhites were hired].

Co-workers and some supervisors would object. Supervisors have final choice, exercise veto power. [Once a supervisor criticized the respondent severely, saying that the firm's nonminority personnel were] too high caliber people to work with Orientals and Negroes.

Unions don't take Negroes or Orientals as drivers. Drivers would walk out if Negro or Oriental came on the job. . . Otherwise we would hire Negro and Oriental drivers if they didn't have to come into direct contact with the consumer housewife. Since there's not much of that kind of contact, we would probably put them on.

Personnel department does only initial screening, supervisors do the hiring.

Doubtful about customer acceptance of Negroes and Orientals in clerical, professional, and skilled capacities. Lot of water has to flow under the bridge . . . Worried about employee reaction. Many southerners would want to segregate both groups. Come to the point of having a Negro boss and doubt that others would work -- in skilled, semiskilled, or unskilled jobs. Going to take long, long time.

Employees in sales and skilled jobs have to be able to meet the public, therefore Negroes and Orientals are unacceptable. . . Installers can't be Negroes because housewife won't let Negro man into the house.

Advertising agency would object to Negro or Oriental sales personnel.

Food Processing and Distribution

Union office clears a small number of Negroes each year. They are given permits for plant rather than driver jobs. We are afraid of customer reaction. . . There would be objections to Negroes in sales capacities; question of presentability in daily contact with customers.

Retail trade

Can't take the risk that customers might object to Negro and Oriental sales people.

Finance and Insurance

We don't have any Negro salesmen because customers would object, and none in clerical jobs because fellow workers would object and threaten to quit. . . Orientals are not the managerial type.

Central personnel screens applicants, but branch managers do most of their own hiring.

Services

Negroes and Chinese are not put in executive training positions because we don't expect them to be, and they don't expect to get to be, top management. They don't try for it. . . . Traditional to have Chinese bar boys.

Wouldn't take nonminority persons for coffee girl or linen truck because they wouldn't fit into small working groups of Negroes or Latin Americans. . . The public is not educated to facing Negro and other minorities...would object to having minority people dunning for bills or receiving complaints. Social acceptance should come before training. Minorities would be unhappy if they tried to step into a job and met resistance from the public. . . Some nationalities do different work better. Filipino busboys don't aspire to waiters' jobs, therefore make out well as busboys. Also, nonminority workers want too much to be waiters. Latin American busboys don't work out well; a difference in attitude. . . Bartenders' union won't accept Negroes or Orientals.

Department heads do their own hiring. . . Negro women make up the only servant class left in the nation today. All Negro women hired are maids; their supervisors are nonminority.

It should be emphasized that the preceding examples of remarks by employers are taken only from among the 74 indicating they had definite merit employment policies. As mentioned earlier, 35 of the respondents in effect qualified their employment policy assertions in some such fashion. Adding the 26 employers who said they had no definite policy or who made no such claim, we see that 61 of the 100 respondents interviewed either lacked a definite merit employment policy

or revealed, through their own words, inconsistencies in or exceptions to that policy. Table 4 summarizes this information and classifies it according to industry groups.

TABLE 4. EMPLOYER CLAIMS AND QUALIFYING STATEMENTS
CONCERNING MERIT EMPLOYMENT POLICY

Industry Group	All Firms	Firms Claiming a Definite Merit Employment Policy			Firms Not Claiming a Definite Merit Employment Policy
		Total	--But qualifying or contradicting that claim through other statements	--And not qualifying the claim through explicit statements	
Durable Mfg.	7	6	3	3	1
Non-Durable Mfg.	23	17	11	6	6
Food ^a	13	9	1	8	4
Bldg. and Construction	4	3	--	3	1
Ret. Tr.	14	11	3	8	3
Finance and Insurance ^b	10	9	3	6	1
Public Utilities, Trans., Commun.	19	15	11	4	4
Service	10	4	3	1	6
Total	100	74	35	39	26

^aEmployers in food processing and distribution are placed in a separate category in order to bring into sharper focus their differences from other fields. Actually this category includes employers in nondurable manufacturing, wholesale trade, and retail trade.

^bReal estate was not included in this sample in the usual classification along with finance and insurance because 64 real estate firms were interviewed in connection with a major part of this study devoted to housing. Limited data on these firms are given in Chapter IV of this volume.

Almost half of the firms in manufacturing laid claim to a merit policy but qualified that policy through other statements; and in the same category were more than half of the respondents in public utilities, transportation, and communications. Smaller proportions in other industries claimed yet qualified merit policy: about one-fifth in retail trade, one-quarter in finance and insurance, and one-third in the service industries. Conversely, those firms stating they followed a merit policy and not otherwise qualifying that position comprised only one-ninth of the service industry establishments covered; slightly over one-fifth of the companies in public utilities, transportation, and communications; about one-fourth in nondurable manufacturing; roughly one-half each in durable manufacturing, retail trade, and finance and insurance; almost two-thirds in food processing and distribution; and three-quarters of those in building and construction.

Table 5 sets forth data reported by the employers as to whether they employed some or no members of the several minority groups, according to types of jobs and claims of merit employment policy. We note that among the 74 firms asserting a merit policy not only did high proportions fail to report Negroes in professional, semiprofessional, managerial, supervisory, or sales positions, but 77 per cent did not report any in unskilled work, 70 per cent did not indicate having any Negro workers in skilled capacities, and roughly two-thirds made no such report with regard to clerical, semiskilled, or service jobs. So it appears that Negro workers were not to be found, even in service and unskilled jobs, in from two-thirds to three-quarters of the firms claiming to have merit employment. Comparable interpretations may be worked out for each of the other three minority groups covered in this table.

Absence of minority employees was evidenced by slightly greater proportions of respondents who did not claim a merit policy than those who did, though generally the differences on this score do not seem important. One exception occurred with respect to Orientals in the first two occupational classifications, professional and semiprofessional, and managerial and supervisory: for these classifications 85 and 92 per cent, respectively, of the employers not claiming a merit policy did not report having Oriental employees, whereas among those claiming such a policy the comparable figures were 68 and 72 per cent. Yet with respect to clerical work significantly greater employment of Orientals than of Negroes is clearly suggested irrespective of the policy-claim differential between employers. In skilled, semiskilled, unskilled, and service jobs, however, Negroes are reported as employed by a small but consistent margin over

TABLE 5. EMPLOYERS NOT REPORTING WORKERS FROM SELECTED MINORITY GROUPS,
BY JOB CATEGORY AND CLAIMS TO MERIT EMPLOYMENT POLICY

Minority Groups	Firms Not Reporting Employees from Selected Minority Groups								
	Profes- sional, Semi- profes- sional	Mana- gerial, Super- visory	Clerical	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Service	Other
Negro Oriental Latin American Jewish	A. Firms Claiming Merit Employment Policy (N = 74)								
	71	60 ^a	47	68	52	48	57	47	69
	50	53 ^a	19	61	57	55	61	66	70
	67	54	30	52	52	50	60	65	70
	56	20	24	37	58	63	68	71	72
Negro Oriental Latin American Jewish	B. Firms Not Claiming Merit Employment Policy (N = 26)								
	24	23 ^a	23	25	21	18	18	19	26
	22	24 ^a	9	24	22	22	22	21	26
	24	24	16	21	23	20	24	23	26
	18	14	14	17	25	25	24	25	26

^aSide remarks by respondents indicated that virtually all Negro and Oriental employees numbered as "managerial or supervisory" were at nonexecutive levels, e.g. foreman of a maintenance crew.

TABLE 6. EMPLOYERS REPORTING PRESENCE OF CERTAIN MINORITY-GROUP WORKERS,
AND THOSE MAKING NO ESTIMATE OF NUMBERS OF SUCH WORKERS,
BY JOB CATEGORY

Status of Employment of Minority-Group Workers	Profes- sional, Semi- profes- sional	Mana- gerial, Super- visory	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Serv- ice	Other
<u>Negro</u>									
Total firms reporting one or more employees of this group	5	17 ^a	30	7	27	34	25	34	5
Number reporting such employees, but with- out estimate of num- ber or per cent	1	4	10	1	12	15	11	12	3
Total firms not reporting employees of this group	95	83	70	93	73	66	75	66	95
<u>Oriental</u>									
Total firms reporting one or more employees of this group	26	23 ^a	72	15	21	23	17	13	4
Number reporting such employees, but with- out estimate of num- ber or per cent	7	3	12	5	12	13	9	8	2
Total firms not reporting employees of this group	72	77	28	85	79	77	83	87	96

<u>Latin American</u>									
Total firms reporting one or more employees of this group	9	22	54	27	25	30	17	19	4
Number reporting such employees, but without estimate of number or per cent	6	13	35	20	18	20	10	11	3
Total firms not reporting employees of this group	91	78	46	73	75	70	83	81	96
<u>Jewish</u>									
Total firms reporting one or more employees of this group	26	66	62	46	17	12	8	4	2
Number reporting such employees, but without estimate of number or per cent	23	58	55	41	16	10	7	4	2
Total firms not reporting employees of this group	74	34	38	54	83	88	92	96	98

^aSide remarks by respondents indicated that virtually all Negro and Oriental employees numbered as "managerial or supervisory" were at nonexecutive levels, e.g. foreman of a maintenance crew.

Oriental. It may be well, in this connection, to bear in mind the fact that the city's Negro population at the time of this study exceeded that of "Orientals" (as the term was usually interpreted by respondents, including persons of Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, or other Asian ancestry) by an estimated 20 per cent.

Table 6 gives the same data without distinction as to the employers' policy claims but with an added indication of those firms which reported having workers of one or more minority groups but did not estimate the number or per cent of such workers nor (for nonwhites) permit an observational count. There may be a question with regard to some of these "no estimate" responses as to whether the reported workers were employed in merely token numbers or whether the respondent was in fact not positive that he had such workers on the job. The latter question would apply primarily to nonwhites, since they, for the most part, could have been checked through simple observation.

Much of the rest of this chapter and of the report as a whole consists of material bearing upon evaluation of the employer claims of merit employment policy. At this point, however, a brief summary and tentative comment may be given.

Of the 100 employers interviewed, 74 laid claim to a definite merit employment policy. Of these, 12 articulated some sort of nonrestrictive policy statement, and only 9 indicated some form of explicit implementation of that policy. In the course of the interview, at least 35 of the 74 revealed certain practices which were clearly inconsistent with the claimed policy. Sixty-one firms either acknowledged in this fashion that their asserted policy was not observed or made no merit policy claim.

It seems that in a great many -- perhaps a substantial majority -- of the firms studied there was no definite, operational policy of merit employment applied consistently throughout the organization. Instead, what our interviewer was given were almost certainly rather impromptu, informal declarations of principle or intention which had no explicit enunciation, were seldom if ever communicated with authority down through channels, could be disregarded in many cases by supervisors and department heads, were observed in some job categories and departments but not in others, and/or were not made clear to recruitment sources. One may ask whether any other important "policy" in large firms is accorded such casual, nonimplemented, "silent" treatment -- whether, indeed, such a point of inarticulation had been reached as to render the term "policy" virtually meaningless as used by a number of these employers with reference to hiring and upgrading of minority-group members.

3. Number and Distribution of Minority Workers

The employers interviewed were asked to estimate the number or percentage, and types of jobs held by Negro, Oriental, Latin American, and Jewish workers in their firms. Since it was assumed that many employers do not keep records or statistics on the race, color, religion, or national origin of their employees, the respondents were told that approximate numbers or percentages would suffice. If an employer said he did not know whether Negro or Oriental workers were employed, or if he said some were employed but would not estimate the number, percentage, or types of jobs held, he was asked if he would have an observational check made or permit the interviewer to do so. In only five cases was such a count made or permitted.

In every job category, the number of employers who said they did not know whether members of a given minority were employed was greater for the less easily identifiable groups than for the highly visible ones. Twelve answered with respect to one or more job classifications that they did not know whether they had Negro workers; of these, 3 gave estimates of the numbers of Negroes at other occupational levels. Thirteen answered "Don't know" with respect to Orientals in one or more categories; of these, 7 gave estimates of numbers for other occupations. The numbers replying "Don't know" about Negroes and Orientals, respectively, did not exceed 5 for any occupational classification; for Latin Americans the range was from 3 to 20; and for Jews, from 9 to 19.

Table 6 has already shown the numbers of respondents who said they had one or more minority workers but would not estimate -- nor permit a check of -- their number or percentage. Thirty-four did not give estimates of the number of Negroes they employed in one or more categories; of these, 15 gave such estimates for other jobs. For Orientals, the corresponding figures were 37 and 24, respectively.

It seems reasonable, because of the following factors, to interpret a large proportion of the "don't know" responses as coming from firms which hired few or no nonwhite workers or did not employ them for certain jobs:

1. Other evidence in the specific interview.
2. Evidence from other sources of information.
3. Employers generally in San Francisco would appear to have certain incentives for reporting affirmatively when they do

hire minority-group members, e.g.:

- a. to support the veracity of the claimed policy of merit employment;
 - b. to indicate compliance with the nondiscrimination requirements of Federal contracts, if held;
 - c. to support the firm's interest in holding or promoting minority patronage;
 - d. to indicate conformance with the prevailing view that, from a public relations standpoint, it is not considered acceptable practice in San Francisco to discriminate in employment;
 - e. to support the contention that no legislation is needed to foster equal employment opportunity.
4. Many firms, both in San Francisco and elsewhere in the nation, show a marked inclination to point with pride to the make-up of their personnel in instances where a genuine merit employment policy is being followed.
5. Complete anonymity of the respondent was assured.

The factors cited above would also seem generally applicable to those respondents who claimed to have Negro, Oriental, Latin American, or Jewish employees but would not estimate their numbers or percentages. Attempting identification of Latin American and Jewish employees by observation would be a wholly unreliable technique, but employers who reported having workers of these two groups and declined to estimate the number presumably had some awareness of their ethnic identification or else would have had no basis for asserting that any persons of these groups were employed in certain job categories. It seems warranted, for the reasons given above, to infer that in many instances where employers said they had minority workers but would make no estimate (especially with regard to Oriental and Negro workers, where an observational check was feasible) there were very few minority-group members employed -- particularly in the middle- and upper-level jobs.

The data below present, by industry groupings and in summary form for the total sample, what 100 employers reported as to the estimated number or percentage of minority workers they employed in various jobs. The responses are presented separately for each minority group covered. The tables classifying

the responses by industry groupings are given following the discussion of the data for each minority group.

Negro employees, by occupational level. -- Five per cent of the 100 employers reported that they employed Negroes in professional, semiprofessional, or technical jobs; 95 per cent did not. None reported Negroes in executive positions. Eighty-three per cent did not report Negroes in lower-level supervisory jobs, and among the 13 who told how many were so employed, 9 said one or two in the lowest level of supervision, such as foreman of a small crew of janitors (often entirely nonwhite), or a chief clerk, or a supervisor of several sales persons in one small department in a large establishment. Seven-tenths (70 per cent) of the respondents did not indicate that they had Negro clerical workers. Among the 20 who estimated the numbers so employed, 4 said 1 or 2 per cent of their clerical work force and 14 said six or fewer. Over nine-tenths (93 per cent) of the employers did not report any Negro sales people. Among the 6 who estimated their numbers, 1 said they constituted less than 1 per cent of the sales force and 3 said one or two.

Almost three-fourths (73 per cent) of the respondents did not report Negro skilled workers. Of the 15 who estimated the number of Negroes so employed in their firms, 10 said five or fewer. About two-thirds (66 per cent) of the employers did not mention any Negro semiskilled workers. More than half of the 20 who gave figures on such employees listed five or less. Three-fourths (75 per cent) of the respondents did not report any Negro unskilled workers. While in 2 firms they were estimated as more than half of the unskilled workers, and in another there were 175, half (7) of the 14 employers who gave figures listed ten or fewer. About two-thirds (66 per cent) of the employers did not mention any Negroes in service jobs. Among the 22 who gave figures on Negroes in this category, more than half (13) had three or fewer; on the other hand, in 3 companies Negroes constituted from 85 to 100 per cent of the service workers.

Negro employees, by industry. -- The responses from the 40 employers in manufacturing and building and construction¹ (see Table 7) indicate that only 2 had Negroes in professional or semiprofessional jobs -- one in each firm. None of the 40 said there were any Negroes in executive jobs. Over four-fifths (33) did not report Negroes in any lower-level

¹Since there were only four building and construction firms in the sample, these are combined with the 36 manufacturing firms for analysis. However, in Tables 7, 12, 17, and 22 the data are grouped by industry.

TABLE 7. NEGRO EMPLOYEES REPORTED BY 36 MANUFACTURING AND 4 BUILDING AND
CONSTRUCTION FIRMS

Approximate Total Employees in Firm		Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Negro Workers ^a							Firm Has Federal Contracts ^b	
Profes- sional		Mgrl. & Supvr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Service	Other	
Durable Mfg.:										
475	1	0	1-2	0	many, n.e. 5%	many, n.e. 5%	*	*	*	X
465	0	0	0	0	*	*	*	*	*	X
450	0	*	0	0	0	2	*	0	*	X
378	0	0	0	0	0	*	3-4	2	*	X
350	1	*	0	*	0	*			*	
300-350	0	0	0	0	1-2	*	*	*	*	X
90	*	0	0	0	several, n.e.	*	*	*	*	
Non-durable Mfg.:										
3,000	0	n.e.	1-2%	d.k.	*	10-15	*	12-15	*	X
1,470	*	4	0	0	*	*	4	*	*	
1,200	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	X
1,200	0	2	0	0	*	23-25%	*	*	*	
1,050	0	0	0	0	*	*	*	6	*	
800	0	0	0	0	*	*	*	6	*	
800	0	0	1	0	many, n.e.	*	2	1	*	X
750	0	0	1-2%	0	*	0	0	*	*	
650	*	0	0	1	*	*	0	*	*	
601	*	0	0	0	1	*	3	*	*	
600	0	0	0	0	*	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	X
600	0	0	0	*	*	*	d.k.	*	*	
600	0	0	0	0	*	*	*	*	*	
400	0	n.e.	d.k.	0	*	5-90%	5-90%	90%	*	X
400	0	0	0	0	15%	*	*	*	*	

supervisory jobs. Of the 7 who reported Negroes in this category, 2 did not estimate their number and none listed more than four. These jobs appeared to be mainly foremen of small work groups such as janitors, cement finishers, and construction laborers; many of these crews were entirely or predominantly nonwhite. Seven-eighths (35) of the employers in manufacturing and building and construction firms did not report having Negroes in clerical positions; in 2 establishments they constituted 1 or 2 per cent of the clerical force and in the other 3 there were one, one or two, and three, respectively. In sales capacities 1 employer reported one Negro.

Almost three-fourths (29) of the employers in these industries did not report Negro workers in skilled jobs. Of the 11 who did, 4 would not estimate their number or percentage, 4 gave absolute figures ranging from one to nine, and 3 estimated 5, 5, and 15 per cent, respectively, of their skilled workers. Seventy per cent (12) of the employers in these industries did not report having any Negro semiskilled workers. Among the 9 who estimated the numbers employed at this level, 4 gave percentages ranging from 5 to 90, 4 said four or fewer, and 1 said 10 to 15. Four-fifths (32) of the respondents did not list any Negro unskilled workers. Of the 8 who did, half listed four or fewer. Almost three-fourths (29) of the employers did not indicate having any Negroes in service occupations. In more than half (6) of the 11 firms reporting such workers, there were only one or two each; in one case Negroes were said to constitute 90 per cent of the service force.

None of the 21 employers in the wholesale and retail trade group mentioned having Negroes employed in professional, semiprofessional, or executive positions. Four-fifths (17) did not report them in lower-level supervisory jobs; in each of 3 firms there was one, and in the fourth, three. These workers were in such jobs as a receiving clerk supervising 12 unskilled workers (mostly nonwhite) and a supervisor of several sales persons in one small unit of a large store. Approximately one-half (11) of the respondents mentioned no Negroes in clerical jobs; and among the 9 who estimated the number of Negroes so employed, there were 2 with ten or more and 7 with six or fewer. Seventy-one per cent (15) of the employers did not mention any Negroes in sales jobs. One of the 6 who listed them made no estimate of their number, 1 said Negroes constituted less than 1 per cent of the sales force, and 3 reported four or fewer in this capacity.

Four-fifths (17) of the respondents did not report having any Negro skilled workers; and only one of the 4 who did would give an estimate of the

TABLE 8. NEGRO WORKERS EMPLOYED IN 21 FIRMS IN RETAIL AND WHOLESALE TRADE
(15 RETAIL AND 6 WHOLESALE ESTABLISHMENTS)

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Negro Workers ^a							Firm Has Federal Contracts ^b	
	Profes- sional	Mgr./& Sup'vr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled		Serv- ice
Retail trade:									
5,100	0	3	2	under 1%	*	*	30%	*	*
1,200-1,500	0	0	5	0	*	n.e.	*	100%	*
1,400	*	0	10	7	*	*	*	some, n.e.	*
1,300	*	1	1	1-2	*	2	*	*	*
773-1,200	0	0	0	0	0	4-5	*	3	*
750-1,050	*	0	1	0	0	n.e.	*	n.e.	*
550	*	0	d.k.	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*	*
250-499	0	1	0	0	4	*	5	*	*
375	*	0	4	0	*	2	*	*	*
350	*	0	4-6	0	*	*	10	*	*
350	0	1	5-6	0	n.e.	20%	n.e.	n.e.	*
205	0	0	0	0	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*
200	*	d.k.	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*
170	*	0	10 +	0	*	1	*	*	*
85	*	0	0	4	0	8	*	*	*
Wholesale trade:									
600-650	0	0	0	0	*	0	*	*	*
400	*	0	0	0	*	n.e.	*	*	*
200	*	0	0	0	*	very small, n.e.	27	*	*
110	0	0	0	2	*	12	*	*	*
105	*	0	0	0	*	0	0	*	*
100	*	0	0	0	*	3	*	*	*

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k.- The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.

n.e.- The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

^bSee pp. 122-29 below.

TABLE 9. NEGRO WORKERS EMPLOYED IN 10 FINANCIAL AND INSURANCE FIRMS

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Negro Workers ^a								
	Profes- sional	Mgrl.& Supvsr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Serv- ice	Other
3,566	d.k.	d.k.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*	*
1,500	*	0	5	0	*	*	*	most, n.e.	*
1,000	*	d.k.	d.k.	*	*	*	*	*	*
900	0	0	1%	*	*	*	*	*	*
800	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	*
750	*	1	few, n.e.	*	*	*	*	some, n.e.	*
600	*	d.k.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*	*
575	*	0	0	*	*	*	*	*	0
485	*	0	0	*	*	*	*	*	*
265	*	0	3-4	0	*	*	*	*	*

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k.- The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.

n.e.- The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

number -- four. More than a third (8) did not report any Negroes in semi-skilled jobs; of the 8 who said how many there were, more than half (5) said five or fewer. Two-thirds (14) of the employers did not indicate any Negro unskilled workers; among the 4 who estimated the number, 1 said 30 per cent of the unskilled force and the other 3 ranged from five to 27 workers. Three-fourths (16) of the respondents did not report Negro service personnel; only 2 estimated the number -- 3 workers in one instance and 100 per cent of the service staff in the other.

Among the ten financial and insurance firms, no respondent reported any Negroes employed in professional, semiprofessional, executive, sales, semi-skilled, or unskilled positions. Nine of the 10 did not report any Negroes in lower-level supervisory jobs, and the 1 who did so had just one such employee. Even in clerical jobs, generally the largest category of employment in this field, 4 of the 10 employers did not report any Negroes; in the 6

firms where they were said to be working in this capacity, the 3 employers who gave estimates listed three or four, five, and 1 per cent of the clerical force, respectively.

Just 1 employer said that he had Negro skilled workers; he reported one. More than two-thirds (7) of the firms were not reported to have Negroes in service jobs; 1 had three, and the other 2 employers made no estimates but replied "Most" and "Some," respectively.

Of 19 employers in public utilities, transportation, and communications, 16 did not report Negroes in professional or semiprofessional jobs; 1 who said Negroes were so employed made no estimate of their numbers; the others listed two and five, respectively. Sixteen respondents did not mention any Negroes in managerial or supervisory positions; among the 3 who did, 2 did not indicate how many were employed, and the third specified two, one of whom was in an executive capacity. Other Negro supervisory personnel were in such positions as section foreman of a small crew of nonwhite laborers and foreman of a work group of nonwhite baggage handlers. More than half (11) of the employers did not mention any Negro clerical workers; among the 3 who told how many were employed, the estimates were one or two, two, and 2 per cent of the clerical staff, respectively. No Negro sales personnel were reported in any firm.

About half (10) of the companies surveyed were not reported to have Negroes in skilled jobs; among the 4 who estimated their numbers, 1 employed 60 and the others had two or three each. About two-thirds (12) of the employers did not list any Negro semiskilled workers; only 2 of the 7 who mentioned them gave estimates of their numbers, one indicating two employees and the other, 50 per cent of his semiskilled force. In the case of Negro unskilled workers, approximately the same proportion (13) did not report any such employees, and none of those who did would estimate the numbers involved. Approximately 50 per cent (10) of the respondents did not report any Negroes in service jobs; among the 5 who gave estimates of their numbers, 1 said ten and the others had three or less. Three employers said they had Negroes in jobs not covered by the aforementioned categories; 1 listed 25 such employees, and the other 2 made no estimates of numbers.

Among 10 firms in service industries (such as hotels and restaurants) no employer reported Negroes in professional, semiprofessional, executive, or sales jobs. Eight of the 10 did not indicate any Negroes in lower-level

TABLE 10. NEGRO WORKERS EMPLOYED IN 19 FIRMS IN PUBLIC UTILITIES,
TRANSPORTATION, AND COMMUNICATIONS

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Negro Workers ^a								Firm Has Federal Contracts ^b
	Profes- sional	Mgrl. & Supvr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Serv- ice	
8,000	0	0	n.e.	0	0	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*
7,600	d.k.	n.e.	some,n.e.	*	some,n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.
4,500	some,n.e.	some,n.e.	. quite a few,n.e.	0	some,n.e.	quite a few, n.e.	consider- able,n.e.	consider- able,n.e.	*
4,000	2	2	some,n.e.	0	n.e.	n.e.	*	n.e.	*
2,200	0	0	0	0	n.e.	*	*	*	*
1,500	0	0	1-2	*	2-3	*	*	*	*
1,100	*	0	0	*	60	*	*	10	25
1,000	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1,000	*	0	0	0	*	2	*	*	n.e.
850	5	0	2%	0	2-3	*	*	*	*
800	0	0	0	0	0	0	some,n.e.	1	*
500	*	0	n.e.	*	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*
500	*	0	0	*	0	*	*	*	*
500	*	0	0	0	2	*	*	2	*
500	*	0	0	0	0	*	*	2	*

450-500	0	0	0	0	d.k.	*	0	*	*
340	0	0	0	0	*	50%	*	*	*
275	*	0	1	*	*	0	many, n.e.	*	*
160	0	0	0	0	0	*	*	3	*

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k. - The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.
n.e. - The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

^bSee pp. 122-29 below.

TABLE 11. NEGRO WORKERS EMPLOYED IN 10 FIRMS IN SERVICE INDUSTRIES

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Negro Workers ^a								
	Profes- sional	Mgrl.& Supvsr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Service	Other
1,225	*	0	0	0	5	*	175	*	*
500-999	*	0	0	*	*	*	*	85%	*
752	*	0	0	*	*	n.e.	55%	*	*
600	*	0	0	*	1-2	*	*	5%	*
400-500	*	4	n.e.	*	*	*	*	large %, n.e.	*
400	*	0	0	*	*	*	*	n.e.	10
300	0	2	d.k.	0	*	2	n.e.	*	0
200	*	0	d.k.	*	*	*	*	35-40	*
175	*	0	0	*	*	*	*	3	*
175	*	0	0	*	*	*	1	*	*

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k.- The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.

n.e.- The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

supervisory jobs; of the 2 that did, 1 had four (foremen of Negro janitorial crews) and the second had two. Just one respondent mentioned Negroes in clerical positions, and he did not estimate their number.

Ten employers did not mention any Negroes in skilled occupations; the 2 who did reported five and one or two, respectively. A similar proportion (10) did not report Negroes in semiskilled jobs; of the 2 who did, 1 made no estimate of the number so employed, and the other listed two workers. Sixty per cent (6) of the respondents in service industries did not mention Negroes in unskilled jobs; while 1 did not indicate the number so employed, the others gave estimates of 55 per cent of the unskilled workers, one employee, and 175, respectively. More than half (6) of the employers said that they had Negro workers in service categories; among the 4 who estimated the numbers, there was a considerable range -- from 3 to 35 or 40 employees and from 5 to 85 per cent of the service personnel. One employer said that he had ten Negro workers not included in the classifications mentioned above.

Oriental employees, by occupational level.¹ -- Almost three-fourths of the respondents did not report any Orientals in professional, semiprofessional, or technical jobs; of the 28 employers who said they had Orientals in these jobs, 7 did not estimate the number or percentage or have an observational check made. Among the 21 who gave estimates, more than half said they had one or two. Only 3 employers reported any Orientals in executive positions; each listed one such worker in this category. The great majority of the employers (77) did not report any Orientals in lower supervisory positions; of the 23 who did, 3 would not estimate the number, and three-fourths of the others listed one or two, with a maximum of 12 or 15. Limited information was given about the level of these supervisory positions, but those described seemed to be relatively low, such as chief clerk or office manager. In contrast, less than one-third (28) of the respondents did not report Oriental employees in clerical positions. Eighteen of the 72 employers who listed them gave no estimate of the number of Orientals so engaged; the other 54 replies ranged from one to twenty-five workers and from 1 to 25 per cent of the clerical staff -- for the most part six or fewer. On the other hand, no Oriental sales personnel were indicated in 85 per cent of the firms surveyed. Of the 15 employers who reported them, 5 gave no estimates, 9 said one or two, and 1 said eight.

Almost four-fifths (79) of the 100 employers did not report any Orientals in skilled jobs; of the 21 who mentioned them, 12 would not make an estimate of their numbers. The 9 who told how many members of this group they employed in skilled jobs indicated six or less in each of 6 establishments and from 1 to 5 per cent of the skilled workers in the other 3. Over three-fourths (77) of the respondents did not report Orientals in semiskilled jobs. Thirteen of the 23 who said such workers were employed would not estimate how many there were; half (5) of the 10 who did listed one Oriental semiskilled worker each, a sixth had two, and the remaining 4 judged that they comprised from 1 to 35 per cent of their semiskilled workers. More than four-fifths

¹Although in each interview an attempt was made to differentiate Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino workers, most respondents said it was too difficult to do so, and in their replies lumped them together as Oriental. When an employer said he did not know whether Oriental workers were employed, or would not estimate the number if he said there were some, he was asked if he would make an observational check. It was not feasible to attempt a more detailed breakdown by the observational method.

TABLE 12. ORIENTAL EMPLOYEES REPORTED BY 36 MANUFACTURING AND 4 BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION FIRMS

Approximate Total Employees in Firm		Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Oriental Workers ^a								Firm Has Federal Contracts ^b
		Profes- sional	Mgrl. & Supvr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Service	
Durable Mfg.:										
475	5-7	0	several, n.e.	0	few, n.e.	few, n.e.	*	*	*	X
465	5-10%	0	1-2	1	1%	1%	*	*	*	X
450	0	*	0	0	*	*	*	*	*	X
378	0	0	0	0	0	1	*	1	0	X
350	2	*	0	*	0	*	*	0	0	X
300-350	1-2	*	0	0	0	*	*	*	*	X
90	1	0	2	0	*	*	*	*	*	
Nondurable Mfg.:										
3,000	3	0	1-2%	d.k.	*	*	*	*	*	X
1,470	*	0	1	0	*	n.e.	0	0	*	
1,200	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	X
1,200	1	12-15	12	0	*	2-35%	*	*	*	
1,050	over 4-5	0	10-15	0	*	*	*	*	*	
800	0	0	6	0	*	*	*	0	*	X
800	1	2	17	0	some, n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*	
750	5-6	0	3%	0	*	*	*	*	*	
650	*	0	0	0	*	0	0	*	*	
601	*	0	1	0	4	*	0	*	*	
600	*	1	over 3	0	*	*	*	0	*	X
600	0	0	2	*	*	*	d.k.	*	*	
600	0	0	n.e.	1	*	*	*	*	*	
400	2	more than 2	1	*	*	0	5%	*	*	X
400	over 2	0	3%	0	3%	*	*	*	*	

250-499	*	0	0	*	5%	5%	5%	*	X
250	0	1	0	*	*	*	*	*	
100-249	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
230	*	0	2	0	*	*	*	*	
225	*	0	1	0	*	0	1	*	
200 +	1	1	5	0	*	1	*	*	
200	*	0	2	0	*	2	*	*	
200	*	0	1	0	*	*	*	*	
170	*	0	4	*	*	*	*	*	
150	0	0	0	0	*	*	*	*	
150	0	0	1	0	*	*	*	*	
100	*	0	0	0	*	*	*	*	
100	0	0	over 1	0	*	*	*	*	
10	*	0	0	0	*	0	*	*	
Bldg. and Construction:									
1,500	8%	2	5%	*	*	*	*	*	
200-300	*	0	0	*	1-3	n.e.	*	*	
150	0	1	4	0	0	0	*	0	
140	1	0	1	0	0	*	few, n.e.	*	

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k.- The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.

n.e.- The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

^bSee pp. 122-29 below.

of the firms surveyed were not reported to have any Oriental unskilled workers; 9 of the 17 employers who said they had some failed to tell how many there were. The other 8 replies ranged from one to 25 employees and from 5 to 40 per cent of the unskilled personnel; 4 respondents had one, two, or three Orientals in this category, and 2 said they constituted 5 per cent of their unskilled workers. The answers on Orientals in service jobs are incomplete because a large number of firms (especially in service industries) reported these workers under unskilled jobs -- many of these employees were busboys, dishwashers, or kitchen helpers. Of the 13 employers who reported Orientals in service occupations, 8 would not estimate their number, and the other 5 named figures ranging from one to nine employees and (in one instance) 25 per cent of the service staff.

Oriental employees, by industry. -- Of the 40 respondents from manufacturing and building and construction firms, 25 (63 per cent) did not report any Orientals in professional or semiprofessional jobs; among the 15 establishments which had them, more than half had one or two each, and the largest numbers given were seven workers and 10 per cent of the employees at this occupational level. Not one of the 40 employers indicated even one Oriental in an executive capacity. Four-fifths (32) of the respondents did not mention any Orientals in the lower-level supervisory positions; among the 8 who did, most (6) said there were one or two. In contrast, two-thirds (27) of the employers said they had Oriental clerical workers; among the 25 who gave estimates of the numbers involved, the range was from one to 17 employees and from 1 to 5 per cent of the clerical staff, with more than half listing one or two such workers. Ninety-five per cent (38) of the 40 employers in these industries did not report Orientals in sales positions; the 2 who did had one each.

The great majority of the employers (33, or 82 per cent) did not indicate any Orientals in skilled jobs; of the 7 who did, 2 did not estimate the number, and the others had four or fewer of such employees or said Orientals constituted from 1 to 5 per cent of their skilled personnel. The situation was similar with respect to Orientals in semiskilled jobs: of the 9 who reported such workers, 3 did not estimate their numbers, and the others listed one or two such employees or said they comprised 1, 5, or from 2 to 35 per cent of the semiskilled work force. Seven-eighths (35) of the respondents did not indicate any Orientals in unskilled jobs; only 3 told how many were employed in their firms -- one in one firm and in both of the others they

TABLE 13. ORIENTAL WORKERS EMPLOYED IN 21 FIRMS IN RETAIL AND WHOLESALE TRADE
(15 RETAIL AND 6 WHOLESALE ESTABLISHMENTS)

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Oriental Workers ^a							Firm Has Federal Contracts ^b	
	Profes- sional	Mgrl.& Supvr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled		Serv- ice
Retail trade:									
5,100	2	3	4	few, n.e.	*	*	some, n.e.	*	*
1,200-1,500	0	0	many, n.e.	2	*	many, n.e.	*	0	*
1,400	*	0	many, n.e.	many, n.e.	*	*	*	some, n.e.	*
1,300	*	0	5	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*	*
773-1,200	0	0	1	0	1	1	*	many, n.e.	*
750-1,050	*	1	13-14	1	n.e.	n.e.	*	0	*
550	*	1	n.e.	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	6	*
250-499	1	*	6	0	2	*	*	*	*
375	*	0	n.e.	0	*	*	*	*	*
350	*	1	6	0	*	*	1	*	*
350	0	5	25 ³	0	n.e.	10%	n.e.	n.e.	*
205	0	0	0	0	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*
200	*	d.k.	several, n.e.	*	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*
170	*	2	2	1	*	0	*	*	*
85	*	0	0	0	0	0	*	*	*
Wholesale trade:									
600-650	2	0	more than 1	0	0	d.k.	*	*	*
400	*	0	1	1	*	1	*	*	*
200	*	0	1	0	*	very small, n.e.	3	*	*
110	4	0	1	2	*	0	0	*	*
105	*	0	0	0	*	0	0	*	*
100	*	0	1	0	*	0	*	*	*

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k. - The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.

n.e. - The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

^bSee pp. 122-29 below.

TABLE 14. ORIENTAL WORKERS EMPLOYED IN 10 FINANCIAL AND INSURANCE FIRMS

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Oriental Workers ^a								
	Profes- sional	Mgrl. & Supvsr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Serv- ice	Other
3,566	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*	*
1,500	*	0	under 8%	0	*	*	*	d.k.	*
1,000	*	d.k.	small, n.e.	*	*	*	*	*	*
900	0	2-3	7-8%	*	*	*	*	*	*
800	0	2	25	0	0	*	*	0	*
750	*	2	many, n.e.	*	*	*	*	d.k.	*
600	*	d.k.	quite a few, n.e.	*	*	*	*	*	*
575	*	0	4	*	*	*	*	*	0
485	*	*	3	*	*	*	*	*	*
265	*	0	many, n.e.	1-2	*	*	*	*	*

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k.- The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.

n.e.- The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

were 5 per cent of the unskilled personnel. Just one employer said he had Orientals in service occupations; he had one.

Of 21 respondents in wholesale and retail trade, 17 (81 per cent) did not report any Oriental workers in professional or semiprofessional jobs; and each of the 4 who did indicated from one to four such employees. Just one employer listed Orientals in executive positions; in his firm there was one. Fifteen (71 per cent) of the employers did not report Orientals in lower supervisory positions; among the 6 who did the range was from one to five such employees, with an average of two. All but 3 of the firms surveyed in this industrial group were reported to have Oriental clerical employees; 11 of the 13 respondents who gave estimates of their numbers listed six or fewer. More than half (12) of the employers did not indicate any Orientals in sales;

all of the 5 who estimated the numbers involved said either one or two.

Almost three-fourths (15, or 71 per cent) of the respondents did not mention Orientals in skilled jobs; the 2 who replied with respect to the numbers involved indicated one and two workers, respectively. Nearly two-thirds (13, or 62 per cent) of the employers did not mention Orientals in semiskilled categories; 5 made no estimate of how many were so employed; 2 said they each had one such worker; and the other said 10 per cent of his semiskilled force was made up of Orientals. The figures on Oriental unskilled personnel were similar to those for skilled occupations -- 6 firms were reported to have them, but estimates of their numbers were given in only 2 cases, one and three workers, respectively. Four, less than a fifth, of the respondents in this industrial group, reported Orientals in service jobs; of these, only 1 would give an estimate -- six elevator operators.

Of 10 employers in financial and insurance firms, 9 did not report any Orientals in professional or semiprofessional jobs; the 1 who did would not estimate the number. Likewise, 9 respondents did not indicate any Orientals in executive positions; in the tenth firm there was one such employee. Six employers did not report any Orientals in lower supervisory positions; 1 did not give information on the number so employed; each of the other 3 indicated two or three. All 10 firms surveyed were reported to employ Orientals in clerical positions; while 5 did not mention how many were involved, 2 said they constituted no more than 8 per cent of the clerical personnel, and the others listed three, four, and 25 employees, respectively. Nine respondents did not report any Orientals in sales; the 1 who did had one or two such workers.

None of the 10 firms were reported to have any Orientals employed in skilled, semiskilled, unskilled, or service occupations.

About two-thirds (12) of the 19 respondents in public utilities, transportation, and communications did not report any Orientals in professional or semiprofessional jobs; of the 7 who did, 5 would not estimate how many they employed, and the other 2 listed one and ten, respectively. Eighteen of the 19 employers did not indicate any Orientals in executive positions; the other reported one. Eighty-four per cent (16) of the firms in these industries were not reported to have any Orientals in lower supervisory positions; of the 3 employers who said they had such workers, 1 did not estimate their number, and the other two replied two, and two or three, respectively. A large majority of the respondents (13, or 68 per cent) said that they had Oriental clerical

personnel; of these, 5 did not indicate how many there were, 6 listed from two to 14 such workers, and 2 said they comprised 3 and from 5 to 15 per cent of the clerical force, respectively. Almost nine-tenths (17) of the employers did not mention any Oriental salespeople; the 2 who did had two and eight such workers, respectively.

More than two-thirds (13) of the respondents did not report any Orientals in skilled categories; of the 6 who did, 5 would not estimate their numbers, and the sixth had six. Almost three-fourths (14) of the firms were not reported to have Oriental semiskilled workers; 4 respondents who said they had some failed to tell how many were so employed, and 1 listed one such person. Nearly four-fifths (15) of the employers did not indicate any Orientals among their unskilled personnel; 3 who did made no estimate of their numbers, and the fourth said he had two. Eighty-four per cent (16) of the employers did not mention any Oriental service workers; none of the 3 who did would tell how many were employed. In 3 cases there were reports of Oriental employees in jobs not included in the classifications above; 2 of these respondents did not indicate how many workers were involved, and the third said two.

Only 1 of the 10 respondents in service industries (such as hotels and restaurants) reported Orientals in professional or semiprofessional positions; he would not give an estimate of how many he employed. None of the 10 reported any Orientals in executive positions. Eighty per cent (8) of the respondents did not list any in lower supervisory positions; 1 employer would not tell how many there were, and the other had one such employee. More than half (6) of the employers did not report any Orientals in clerical jobs; of the 4 who did, 1 would not estimate their number, and each of the other 3 had one or two such workers. Nine-tenths (9) of the firms in this group were not reported to have any Oriental sales workers; the 1 respondent who mentioned having them would not estimate how many were involved.

Four-fifths (8) of the firms were not reported to have any Orientals in skilled jobs; in the 2 cases where there were such employees, 1 respondent did not estimate their number, and the other said there were two. Nine-tenths (9) of the employers did not list any Oriental semiskilled workers, and the 1 who did, did not estimate how many there were. Four-fifths (8) of the respondents did not mention any Oriental unskilled personnel; the 2 who did listed 25 workers and 40 per cent of the unskilled force, respectively. Half (5) of the employers said they had Oriental service workers; 2 did not

TABLE 15. ORIENTAL WORKERS EMPLOYED IN 19 FIRMS IN PUBLIC UTILITIES,
TRANSPORTATION, AND COMMUNICATIONS

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Oriental Workers ^a							Firm Has Federal Contracts ^b	
	Profes- sional	Mgr'l. & Supvr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Serv- ice	Other
8,000	0	0	d.k.	0	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*
7,600	n.e.	0	n.e.	*	*	n.e.	n.e.	some, n.e.	n.e.
4,500	some, n.e.	*	quite a few, n.e.	0	some, n.e.	quite a few, n.e.	consider- able, n.e.	consider- able, n.e.	*
4,000	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	0	n.e.	*	*	*	*
2,200	n.e.	0	d.k.	0	n.e.	*	*	*	*
1,500	0	0	some, n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*	*	*
1,100	*	0	11	*	0	*	*	0	2
1,000	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1,000	*	0	13	0	*	1	*	*	n.e.
850	10	0	3%	2	0	*	*	*	*
800	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	*
500	*	2	n.e.	*	0	*	*	*	*
500	*	0	2	*	d.k.	*	*	*	*
500	*	0	0	0	0	*	*	*	*
500	*	*	over 2	0	6	*	*	*	*
450-500	0	0	14	0	d.k.	*	*	0	*
340	n.e.	2-3	5-15%	8	*	few, n.e.	*	*	*
275	*	0	5-6	*	*	0	0	*	*
160	1	0	0	0	0	*	*	*	*

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k. - The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.

n.e. - The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

^bSee pp. 122-29 below.

TABLE 16. ORIENTAL WORKERS EMPLOYED IN 10 FIRMS IN SERVICE INDUSTRIES

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Oriental Workers ^a								
	Profes- sional	Mgrl.& Supvsr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Serv- ice	Other
1,225	*	0	0	*	2	*	25	*	*
500-999	*	0	1	*	*	*	*	*	*
752	*	*	0	*	*	n.e.	40%	*	*
600	*	0	1	*	many, n.e.	*	*	25%	*
400-500	*	0	2	*	*	*	*	n.e.	*
400	*	n.e.	0	*	*	*	*	n.e.	15
300	n.e.	d.k.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*
200	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	4	*
175	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	9	*
175	*	1	0	*	*	*	*	*	*

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k.- The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.

n.e.- The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

estimate the number, 1 said they constituted 25 per cent of his service staff, and the other 2 listed four and nine persons, respectively. One firm was reported to have 15 Oriental employees in categories other than those listed above.

Latin American employees, by occupational level. -- The data received from employers concerning Latin Americans are incomplete because a relatively large number of respondents either said they did not know whether workers of this group were employed in certain jobs, or said that they were employed but would not undertake to estimate the number or per cent. As indicated above, since the observational check lacks reliability for identifying Latin Americans, it was not requested. The Latin American workers reported were primarily Mexican Americans.

More than nine-tenths (91) of the employers did not report any Latin Americans in professional, semiprofessional, or technical jobs; of the 9 who did, 6 made no estimate of the number, and the other 3 answered one worker, two or three, and from 2 to 4 per cent of the employees in this category, respectively.

None of the respondents indicated Latin Americans in executive positions. The great majority (78) did not have them in lower supervisory positions; of the 22 who reported them in this capacity, 13 did not estimate the number, and a but 1 of the remaining 9 listed either one or two. A little more than half (54) of the firms were said to employ Latin American clerical workers. In only 19 cases were there indications of the number of employees; the great majority of these firms had three or fewer. Among the establishments which employed Latin Americans, more had them in clerical positions (held mainly by women) than in any other job category. The great demand for stenographers and other office workers, the availability of an apparently growing number of trained young Mexican American women who are seeking white-collar jobs, and the practice of an increasing number of employers of hiring them for these jobs are probably factors involved in this changing employment pattern. In contrast to clerical employment, only half as many employers listed Latin Americans among their sales personnel. Almost three-fourths (73) of the employers did not mention any Latin Americans in sales; 20 of the 27 who did made no estimate of the number, and the others reported from one to six such employees.

Three-fourths (75) of the respondents did not report any Latin American skilled employees; of the 25 who did, 18 did not indicate how many there were and the remaining 7 replies ranged from three to 20 workers and from 1 to 75 per cent of the skilled force. Among firms which employed Latin Americans, the second in frequency was semiskilled labor, yet 70 per cent of the employers did not mention any such workers. Two-thirds (20) of the 30 respondents who listed them gave no estimate of the numbers involved; the majority of the other 10 indicated twenty or fewer. It is to be noted that, in comparison with clerical jobs, where Latin Americans were employed in semiskilled work there were larger numbers involved. About five-sixths of the companies surveyed were not reported to have Latin American unskilled personnel; 10 of the 16 employers who said they had such employees did not tell how many there were, and the replies of the others ranged from one to ten workers and from 3 to 50 per cent of the unskilled force. Almost nine-tenths (88) of the respondents did not indicate any Latin American service workers; 7 of the 12 who did made no estimate of the number, 4 reported from one to six workers, and the twelfth said they constituted 5 per cent of his service force.

TABLE 17. LATIN AMERICAN EMPLOYEES REPORTED BY 36 MANUFACTURING AND 4 BUILDING
AND CONSTRUCTION FIRMS

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Latin American Workers ^a								Firm Has Federal Contracts ^b
	Profes- sional	Mgrl. & Supvr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Serv- ice	
<u>Durable Mfg.:</u>									
475	0	0	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*
465	2-4%	n.e.	2-4%	d.k.	15-20%	15-20	*	*	*
450	*	*	10%	a number	*	*	*	*	*
378	1	0	2	1	n.e.	20	*	0	*
350	many, n.e.	*	many, n.e.	*	d.k.	*	many, n.e.	d.k.	*
300-350	2-3	*	n.e.	*	15-20	*	*	*	*
90	0	0	6	3	*	*	*	*	*
<u>Non-durable Mfg.:</u>									
3,000	d.k.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*	*
1,470	*	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	n.e.	n.e.	0	*
1,200	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1,200	*	*	*	*	*	n.e.	*	*	*
1,050	d.k.	n.e.	24	n.e.	*	*	*	d.k.	*
800	d.k.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
800	d.k.	0	3	0	predomin- antly, n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*
750	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*
650	*	0	0	d.k.	*	3%	*	*	*
601	*	1	4-5	d.k.	many, n.e.	*	50%	*	*
600	*	*	many, n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	0	*
600	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	*	*	n.e.	d.k.	*	*
600	d.k.	n.e.	many, n.e.	0	*	*	*	*	*
400	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	*	*	d.k.	d.k.	*	*
400	d.k.	n.e.	0	0	1%	*	*	*	*

Latin American employees, by industry. -- Of 40 employers in manufacturing and building and construction, 34 (85 per cent) did not report any Latin Americans in professional or semiprofessional jobs; of the 6 who did, 3 gave no estimates as to their numbers (2 said "Many") and the others indicated one worker, two or three, and from 2 to 4 per cent of the personnel at that level, respectively. No respondent mentioned any Latin Americans in executive positions. Seven-tenths (28) of the employers did not report any members of this group in lower supervisory positions; of the 12 who did, 7 did not indicate how many there were, 4 listed one or two, and the twelfth said ten. Sixty per cent (24) of the firms were reported to have Latin American clerical workers; among these, no estimate of the numbers involved was given for 12 (4 respondents said "Many"), and two-thirds (8) of the others had six or fewer. A little over two-thirds (27, or 68 per cent) of the employers did not mention any Latin Americans in sales jobs; among the 13 who did, 9 gave no estimates as to the numbers, and the other 4 listed one, three, or four workers.

Three-fourths (30) of the respondents did not report any Latin Americans in skilled occupations; among the other 10, 5 did not tell how many were so employed (1 answered "Predominantly," and 2 said "Many"), 1 said from 15 to 20 workers, and the other 4 gave percentages ranging from 1 to 75. Seventy per cent (28) of the employers did not mention any Latin Americans in semi-skilled categories; among the 12 who did, 7 gave no estimates of numbers, and the others gave figures ranging from three to 20 workers and from 3 to 15 per cent of the semiskilled personnel. Four-fifths (32) of the establishments surveyed were not reported to have Latin Americans in unskilled jobs; among the other 8, there were no estimates of the numbers employed in 5, and in 3 they were said to be 3, 15, and 50 per cent, respectively, of the unskilled workers. Only 1 employer mentioned having Latin American service personnel, and he did not indicate how many there were in his firm.

Of 21 respondents in wholesale and retail trade, none reported any Latin American employees in professional, semiprofessional, or executive positions. Eighteen (86 per cent) of those interviewed in these fields did not report them in lower supervisory positions; of the 3 who did, 1 gave no estimate of the number of such workers he employed, and 2 listed two. A little over half of the firms (11, or 52 per cent) were reported to have Latin American clerical workers; in 6 of these, there was no indication of how many there were, and in the other 3 there were no more than four each. With regard to the

TABLE 18. LATIN AMERICAN WORKERS EMPLOYED IN 21 FIRMS IN RETAIL AND WHOLESALE TRADE
(15 RETAIL AND 6 WHOLESALE ESTABLISHMENTS)

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Latin American Workers ^a							Firm Has Federal Contracts ^b	
	Profes- sional	Mgrl. & Supvr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled		Serv- ice
Retail Trade:									
5,100	0	1	n.e.	1	*	*	n.e.	*	*
1,200-1,500	0	0	n.e.	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	0	*
1,400	*	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	*
1,300	*	0	some, n.e.	many, n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*	*
773-1,200	0	d.k.	3-4	many, n.e.	d.k.	many, n.e.	*	4	*
750-1,050	*	0	0	number of, n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	n.e.	*
550	*	*	d.k.	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*	*
250-499	0	0	1	d.k.	0	1	*	*	*
375	*	0	n.e.	*	*	n.e.	*	*	*
350	*	0	3	0	*	*	1	1	*
350	0	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*
205	*	*	*	*	n.e.	*	*	*	*
200	*	d.k.	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*
170	*	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	*	d.k.	*	*	*
85	*	0	0	6	3	5	*	*	*
Wholesale Trade:									
600-650	0	0	great many, n.e.	several, n.e.	*	great number, n.e.	*	*	*
400	*	d.k.	lot, n.e.	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*	*
200	*	0	d.k.	d.k.	*	very small, n.e.	10	*	*
110	0	1	d.k.	0	*	1	*	*	*
105	*	0	0	0	*	0	0	*	*
100	*	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	*	d.k.	*	*	*

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k.- The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.
n.e.- The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

^bSee pp. 122-29 below.

employment of Latin American salespeople, about half (11, or 52 per cent) of the respondents did not report any such workers; of the 10 who did, 8 did not tell how many there were, and the others listed one and six, respectively.

More than three-fourths (16, or 76 per cent) of the employers did not report any Latin American skilled workers; of the 5 who did, 4 gave no estimate of their numbers, and the fifth had three. Almost two-thirds (13, or 62 per cent) of the respondents listed Latin American semiskilled workers; these, 10 did not tell how many were employed, and the others said they had one, one, and five such workers, respectively. Over three-fourths (16, or 76 per cent) of the employers did not indicate any Latin American unskilled workers; 3 of the 5 who did, failed to say how many they had, and the other had one and ten, respectively. More than four-fifths (17, or 81 per cent) of the firms were not reported to have Latin American service workers; in the other 4, no estimate was given of the numbers employed in 2, and there were one and four, respectively, in the remaining 2.

Among the 10 firms in finance and insurance, with the exception of clerical work, there was very little employment of Latin Americans reported. In fact in none of the firms were there reported to be any members of this group in professional, semiprofessional, executive, skilled, semiskilled, unskilled, or service capacities. Just 1 employer indicated that he employed any Latin Americans in lower supervisory positions; he had two. Nine-tenths (9) of the respondents reported that Latin Americans were employed in clerical positions but 7 of these did not tell how many there were, and the other 2 listed two and three, respectively. Four-fifths (8) of the employers did not mention any Latin Americans in sales; the 2 who did failed to specify how many there were.

A substantial proportion of the employers in the 19 firms in public utilities, transportation, and communications reported few or no Latin Americans in most job categories. Nearly nine-tenths (17, or 89 per cent) did not mention any in professional or semiprofessional positions; the 2 who did, did not indicate how many were so employed. No Latin Americans were reported in executive capacities. Nearly four-fifths (15, or 79 per cent) did not list any in lower supervisory positions; of the 4 who did, 3 did not tell how many there were, and the fourth had one. Just over one-half (10, or 53 per cent) of the respondents did not report any Latin American clerical workers; of the 9 who did, 8 did not estimate their numbers, and the other said there were

TABLE 19. LATIN AMERICAN WORKERS EMPLOYED IN 10 FINANCIAL AND INSURANCE FIRMS

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Latin American Workers ^a								
	Profes- sional	Mgrl. & Supvsr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Serv- ice	Other
3,566	d.k.	d.k.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*	*
1,500	*	*	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	0	*
1,000	*	d.k.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*	*
900	0	0	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*	*
800	d.k.	d.k.	lot, n.e.	0	d.k.	*	*	d.k.	*
750	*	2	n.e.	*	*	*	*	d.k.	*
600	*	d.k.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
575	*	0	2	*	*	*	*	*	0
485	*	*	3	*	*	*	*	*	*
265	*	0	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k. - The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.

n.e. - The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

four or five. Nearly nine-tenths (17) of the employers did not indicate any Latin American sales personnel; among the 2 who did, 1 did not tell how many were employed, and the other said four or five.

A little more than one-half (10, or 53 per cent) of the employers said they had Latin American skilled workers; however, 9 did not estimate how many were involved, and the tenth said four or five. Nearly four-fifths (15, or 79 per cent) of the respondents did not mention Latin Americans among their semiskilled employees; 3 of the 4 who did failed to mention how many there were, and the fourth said he had 75. Similarly, 16 (84 per cent) of the employers did not list any Latin American unskilled workers; of the 3 who did, 2 made no estimate of their numbers, and the third said he had two. Fifteen (79 per cent) of the respondents did not report any Latin American service workers; 2 of the 4 who did, did not tell how many they employed, and the others replied one and five or six, respectively. Two other employ-

TABLE 20. LATIN AMERICAN WORKERS EMPLOYED IN 19 FIRMS IN PUBLIC UTILITIES,
TRANSPORTATION, AND COMMUNICATIONS

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Latin American Workers ^a						Other	Firm Has Federal Contracts ^b
	Profes- sional	Mgrl. & Supvrs.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Serv- ice
8,000	*	0	*	0	*	*	*	*
7,600	d.k.	n.e.	n.e.	*	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.
4,500	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
4,000	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*
2,200	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*	*
1,500	n.e.	0	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*	*
1,100	*	d.k.	0	*	n.e.	*	*	n.e.
1,000	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1,000	*	n.e.	many, n.e.	4-5	*	75	*	*
850	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
800	0	0	0	d.k.	4-5	0	2	1
500	*	*	*	*	many, n.e.	*	*	*
500	*	0	few, n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*	*
500	*	0	n.e.	d.k.	n.e.	*	*	*
500	*	1	many, n.e.	0	many, n.e.	*	*	*
450-500	0	0	few, n.e.	n.e.	d.k.	*	*	5-6
340	d.k.	d.k.	4-5	0	*	many, n.e.	*	*
275	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
160	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k.- The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.

n.e.- The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

^bSee pp. 122-29 below.

TABLE 21. LATIN AMERICAN WORKERS EMPLOYED IN 10 FIRMS IN SERVICE INDUSTRIES

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Latin American Workers ^a								
	Profes- sional	Mgrl. & Supvsr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Serv- ice	Other
1,225	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
500-999	*	0	d.k.	*	*	*	*	*	n.e.
752	*	*	0	*	*	10-20	*	*	*
600	*	d.k.	d.k.	*	d.k.	*	*	5%	*
400-500	*	*	1	*	*	*	*	n.e.	*
400	*	n.e.	0	*	*	*	*	n.e.	10
300	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
200	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
175	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	d.k.	*
175	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k. - The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.

n.e. - The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

ers stated that they had Latin American personnel in occupations not classified above, but neither specified how many were involved.

In every job category, the 10 respondents in service industries reported few or no Latin Americans employed. No members of this minority group were listed in executive, sales, skilled, and unskilled categories. Just 1 employer said he had any in professional and semiprofessional positions, and he failed to tell how many were involved. Four-fifths (8) of the employers did not mention any Latin Americans in lower-level supervisory positions; the 2 who did gave no estimates of the numbers. Just 1 firm was reported to have any Latin American clerical workers; in that case there was one such employee.

Just 1 employer reported Latin Americans in semiskilled jobs; he said he had from ten to 20 such workers. Seven-tenths (7) of the respondents did not list any Latin Americans in service occupations; of the 3 who did, 2 gave no estimate of their numbers, and the third said they constituted 5 per cent of the service staff. Two other employers stated that they employed Latin Ameri-

cans in occupations other than those classified above; 1 said he had ten such employees, and the other made no estimate of their number.

Jewish employees, by occupational level. -- As in the case of Latin Americans, data from the 100 employers concerning employment of Jewish workers are incomplete. Many respondents said they did not know whether such workers were employed in certain jobs, and the great majority of respondents who reported employees of this group would not undertake to give an estimate of the number or per cent involved. Since an observational check would not be reliable to identify Jewish workers, this was not requested, and the employers were advised that the approximate number or per cent would suffice.

Of the 26 employers who said that they had Jews in professional, semi-professional, or technical positions, only 3 would estimate how many there were; the replies were one employee, two, and from 2 to 4 per cent of that occupational group, respectively. Of 46 respondents who reported Jewish employees in executive positions, 40 would not venture to estimate the number or percentage; of the 6 who did, 5 reported one employee each, and 1 said half of the executives in the company were Jewish. Two-thirds (66) of the firms surveyed were reported to have Jews at lower supervisory levels; there was no indication of the number of such employees in 58 of these (5 employers said "Many"; 1, "Few"); 1 respondent estimated that 50 per cent of the lower supervisory positions in his establishment were filled by Jews, and there were no more than three workers of this type in any of the other 7 companies. Almost two-thirds (62) of the employers said that they employed Jews in clerical positions; of these, 55 did not tell how many there were (5 said "Many"; 1, "Full of"; 1, "Any number"; while 1 said "Few," and another, "Very few"), 1 estimated 40 per cent of the clerical personnel, and the rest averaged about two, with a maximum of six. Almost half (46) of the respondents mentioned Jews in sales; of these, 41 did not specify how many there were, 1 estimated 20 per cent of the sales force, and the remaining 4 listed six or fewer, with an average of three.

Eighty-three per cent (83) of the employers did not report any Jews in skilled categories; of the 17 who did, 16 made no reference to the numbers (1 indicated "Few," and another, "Very few"), and 1 listed two such workers. Almost nine-tenths (88) of the respondents did not report any Jewish semiskilled employees; of the 12 who did, 10 made no estimate of how many they had, and the others said fifteen employees and 5 per cent of the semiskilled force,

respectively. More than nine-tenths (92) of the firms surveyed were not said to have any Jewish unskilled workers; for 7 of the 8 which did, there were no indications of the numbers, and in the eighth, Jews constituted 5 per cent of the employees in that category. Ninety-six per cent (96) of the respondents did not mention any Jewish service workers; none of the 4 who did told how many were employed.

Jewish employees, by industry. -- Of 40 respondents in manufacturing and building and construction, more than two-thirds (27, or 68 per cent) did not report any Jewish employees in professional or semiprofessional positions; only 2 of the 13 who listed them indicated how many there were -- in one instance, two, and in the other, from 2 to 4 per cent of the personnel at that level. Over half of the employers (22, or 55 per cent) did not report any Jews in executive positions; of the 18 who did so, only 2 would give estimates -- one employee each. Almost three-fourths (29, or 72 per cent) had Jews in lower supervisory positions; while 25 employers did not indicate how many such employees were involved, the estimates of the other 4 ranged from one to three. About two-thirds of the respondents (26, or 65 per cent) mentioned Jews in clerical jobs; 22 of these did not specify how many were employed, the replies of the other 4 averaged between two and three workers, with a maximum of six. Just over half (21, or 52 per cent) of the employers did not indicate any Jewish sales personnel; among the 19 who did, 16 did not tell how many there were, and in the other 3 cases there were two, two or three, and six such employees, respectively.

More than four-fifths of the firms were not reported to have any Jewish skilled workers; in the 6 where there were said to be some, no indication of the number was made in 5, and the other had two such people. Almost nine-tenths (35, or 88 per cent) of the employers did not report any Jews among their semiskilled employees; of the 5 who did, 4 did not estimate how many there were, and the fifth estimated that they made up 5 per cent of the semiskilled work force. Ninety per cent (36) of the respondents did not list any Jewish unskilled workers; of the 4 who did, 3 gave no estimates of numbers, and the fourth said 5 per cent of the unskilled personnel. No employer listed any Jewish service workers.

Among the 21 firms in wholesale and retail trade, 86 per cent (18) of the respondents did not report any Jewish employees in professional or semiprofessional positions; of the 3 who did, 2 did not estimate how many were

TABLE 22. JEWISH EMPLOYEES REPORTED BY 36 MANUFACTURING AND 4 BUILDING AND
CONSTRUCTION FIRMS

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Jewish Workers ^a							Firm Has Federal Contracts ^b	
	Profes- sional	Mgrl. & Supvsr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Serv- ice	Other
Durable Mfg.:									
475	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	X
465	2-4% *	n.e.	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	*	*	X
450		many, n.e.	any no.,	many, n.e.	*	*	*	*	
378	0	1	d.k.	d.k.	2	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	X
350	many, n.e.	*	many, n.e.	*	d.k.	*	many, n.e.	d.k.	
300-350	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	0	*	*	*	X
90	d.k.	1-2	1	0	*	*	*	*	
Nondurable Mfg.:									
3,000	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*	X
1,470	*	n.e.	very few,	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*	
1,200	*	*	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*	
1,200	*	*	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	X
1,050	d.k.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	d.k.	
800	n.e.	n.e.	1	n.e.	*	*	*	0	
800	d.k.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	d.k.	*	
750	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	X
650	*	n.e.	d.k.	n.e.	*	5%	5%	*	
601	*	n.e.	n.e.	d.k.	n.e.	*	d.k.	*	
600	*	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	d.k.	*	0	X
600	2	1	d.k.	*	*	*	d.k.	*	
600	d.k.	n.e.	n.e.	d.k.	*	*	*	*	
400	d.k.	n.e.	d.k.	d.k.	*	d.k.	*	*	X
400	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	

250-499

250

100-249

230

225

200 +

200

200

200

170

150

150

100

100

10

Bldg. and

Construction:

1,500

200-300

150

140

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n.e.

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n.e.

d.k.

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*

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many, n.e.

*

d.k.

n.e.

*

n.e.

*

*

n.e.

n.e.

d.k.

6

n.e.

d.k.

d.k.

d.k.

d.k.

d.k.

n.e.

*

many, n.e.

n.e.

d.k.

0

*

n.e.

*

*

n.e.

n.e.

d.k.

6

n.e.

d.k.

d.k.

d.k.

d.k.

n.e.

*

many, n.e.

n.e.

many, n.e.

2

*

n.e.

*

*

2-3

n.e.

d.k.

6

*

n.e.

d.k.

d.k.

d.k.

n.e.

2

*

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n.e.

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very few

d.k.

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0

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X

X

X

X

X

X

X

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k.- The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.

n.e.- The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

^bSee pp. 122-29 below.

employed, and the third listed one. One-third of the employers did not report any Jews in executive positions; only 1 gave an estimate -- 50 per cent of the personnel at that level. Jews were most frequently reported to be employed in lower supervisory, clerical, and sales categories. About seven-tenths (15, or 71 per cent) of the respondents mentioned them in lower-level supervisory positions; while 13 of these did not specify how many were so employed, 1 indicated one person, and the other, 50 per cent of such personnel. Almost two-thirds (13, or 62 per cent) of the employers said they had Jewish clerical workers; 11 of these did not tell the number, 1 said there were more than two, and the other stated that Jews constituted 40 per cent of the clerical personnel. Seventy-one per cent (15) of the firms were reported to have Jewish salespeople; while estimates of the numbers were not given in 13 cases, 1 establishment was said to have one or two, and the other, 20 per cent of the sales force.

With regard to the blue-collar categories, in each case a large majority of the employers did not report any Jewish workers. Seventeen (81 per cent) respondents did not mention any in skilled occupations; none of the 4 who did estimated how many were employed. Fifteen (71 per cent) employers did not list any Jewish semiskilled workers; 5 of the 6 who said they had such personnel failed to give the number, the sixth had 15. Four-fifths (17) of the firms were not reported to have Jewish unskilled workers; no numbers were given in connection with the 4 which did. Only 1 establishment was said to have Jews in service jobs; the respondent said that in his company there were few.

Among the 10 employers in financial and insurance firms, 9 did not report any Jews in professional or semiprofessional positions; the 1 who did gave no estimate of the number so employed. In contrast, Jews were mentioned in executive, lower supervisory, and clerical jobs by large majorities of the employers in this industrial group. Seven respondents reported Jews in executive positions; only 1 gave the number -- one employee. Four-fifths (8) said they had Jews in lower supervisory positions, but none indicated how many were involved. Likewise, 8 firms were reported to have Jewish clerical workers; estimates of the number of such employees were not given in 7 cases, in the eighth there were two. With regard to sales personnel, 8 employers did not list any Jews, and the 2 who did gave no figures on the number so employed.

TABLE 23. JEWISH WORKERS EMPLOYED IN 21 FIRMS IN WHOLESALE AND RETAIL TRADE
(15 RETAIL AND 6 WHOLESALE ESTABLISHMENTS)

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Jewish Workers ^a								Firm Has Federal Contracts ^b
	Profes- sional	Mgrl. & Supvsr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Serv- ice	Other
<u>Retail Trade:</u>									
5,100	many, n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	n.e.	*	*
1,200-1,500	n.e.	n.e.	d.k.	many, n.e.	*	d.k.	*	O	*
1,400	*	many, n.e.	d.k.	d.k.	*	*	*	d.k.	*
1,300	*	n.e.	n.e.	many, n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*	*
773-1,200	d.k.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	d.k.	d.k.	*	d.k.	*
750-1,050	*	n.e.	n.e.	no. of n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	O	*
550	*	*	d.k.	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*	*
250-499	*	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*
375	*	many, n.e.	d.k.	d.k.	*	d.k.	*	*	*
350	*	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	n.e.	*	*
350	O	few, n.e.	few, n.e.	few, n.e.	few, n.e.	few, n.e.	few, n.e.	few, n.e.	*
205	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
200	*	d.k.	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*
170	*	1/2	40%	d.k.	*	d.k.	*	*	*
85	*	O	O	1-2	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*
<u>Wholesale Trade:</u>									
600-650	1	n.e.	more than 2	several, n.e.	*	15	*	*	*
400	*	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	d.k.	*	*	*
200	*	n.e.	d.k.	20%	*	*	d.k.	*	*
110	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	*	d.k.	*	*	*
105	*	O	n.e.	n.e.	*	d.k.	d.k.	*	*
100	*	1	n.e.	n.e.	*	d.k.	*	*	*

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k. - The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.

n.e. - The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

^bSee pp. 122-29 below.

TABLE 24. JEWISH WORKERS EMPLOYED IN 10 FINANCIAL AND INSURANCE FIRMS

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Jewish Workers ^a								
	Profes- sional	Mgrl.& Supvr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Serv- ice	Other
3,566	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*	*
1,500	*	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	0	*
1,000	*	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*	*
900	0	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*	*
800	d.k.	n.e.	n.e.	0	d.k.	*	*	0	*
750	*	many, n.e.	*	*	*	*	*	0	*
600	*	d.k.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
575	*	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*	0
485	*	*	2	*	*	*	*	*	*
265	*	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*	*

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k. - The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.

n.e. - The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

No Jewish workers were reported by any respondent in skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, or service jobs.

Of 19 employers in public utilities, transportation, and communications, more than half (11, or 58 per cent) did not report any Jews in professional or semiprofessional positions; none of the 8 who did. indicated how many they employed. About three-fourths (14, or 74 per cent) of the respondents did not list any Jews in executive positions; of the 5 who did, only 2 specified the numbers -- one in each firm. Jews were mentioned most frequently in connection with lower supervisory and clerical jobs. A little over half (10, or 53 per cent) of the employers said that they had Jewish employees at lower supervisory levels; of these, 8 did not tell how many there were, and the other 2 reported one and two, respectively. Still more firms (12, or 63 per cent) were said to have Jewish clerical employees, but none of the respondents estimated how many there were. In contrast, approximately half (10, or 53 per

TABLE 25. JEWISH WORKERS EMPLOYED IN 19 FIRMS IN PUBLIC UTILITIES,
TRANSPORTATION, AND COMMUNICATIONS

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Jewish Workers ^a								Firm Has Federal Contracts ^b
	Profes- sional	Mgrl. & Supvr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Serv- ice	Other
8,000	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	*
7,600	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	d.k.	d.k.	*	d.k.	n.e.
4,500	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
4,000	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*
2,200	n.e.	d.k.	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*	*	*
1,500	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*	*	*
1,100	*	d.k.	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*	n.e.	n.e.
1,000	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1,000	*	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	n.e.	*	*	*
1,850	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
800	0	d.k.	d.k.	n.e.	d.k.	d.k.	d.k.	0	*
500	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
500	*	0	many, n.e.	*	d.k.	*	*	*	*
500	*	n.e.	full of, n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*
500	*	1	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*
450-500	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	d.k.	*	*	0	*
340	n.e.	2	n.e.	n.e.	*	d.k.	*	*	*
275	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
160	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	*

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k. - The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.

n.e. - The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

^bSee pp. 122-29 below.

cent) of the employers did not list any Jewish sales personnel; the 9 who did furnished no figures on how many there were.

More than half of the respondents did not mention any Jews in skilled jobs; none of the 7 who did estimated their number. Ninety-five per cent (18) of the firms were not reported to have Jews in semiskilled jobs; in the 1 exception, the number of such workers was not specified. There were no Jews listed as unskilled workers in any of the 19 establishments surveyed. Just one employer said that he had any Jews in service categories, and he did not estimate how many there were.

Relatively few of the 10 employers in service industries reported having Jewish workers in any capacity; in no case was an estimate made of the number so employed. Just 1 respondent mentioned Jewish personnel in professional or semiprofessional positions. Likewise there was only 1 who said he had any in an executive capacity. Four firms were said to have Jews in lower-level supervisory jobs; 3, in clerical work; and 1, in sales.

No employer listed any Jews in skilled, semiskilled, or unskilled categories. Two establishments were reported to have Jewish service personnel.

Summary of data on number and distribution of minority workers. -- From the foregoing figures we learn the proportions of the 100 firms surveyed whose representatives said they employed one or more members of the four minority groups. The findings are not a reliable indication of how many minority workers were involved, because large percentages of the respondents gave no estimates. Furthermore, the information on Latin Americans and Jews is even less exact because they are not so readily identifiable. Recognizing these limitations, we may still hazard the following generalizations:

1. Comparing minority groups by occupational level --
 - a. Negroes and Latin Americans were reported less frequently than Jews and Orientals in professional, executive, lower supervisory, and clerical categories.
 - b. The number of employers reporting Orientals in lower supervisory positions is almost as low as for Negroes and Latin Americans.
 - c. Considerably more companies were said to have Latin American clerical workers than Negro.
 - d. Fewer respondents listed Negroes or Orientals in sales than listed Latin Americans or Jews.
 - e. Jewish employees were the minority group least frequently men-

TABLE 26. JEWISH WORKERS EMPLOYED IN 10 FIRMS IN SERVICE INDUSTRIES

Approximate Total Employees in Firm	Reported Estimate of Number or Per Cent Jewish Workers ^a								
	Profes- sional	Mgrl.& Supvr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Serv- ice	Other
1,225	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
500-999	*	n.e.	d.k.	*	*	*	*	*	*
752	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
600	*	d.k.	n.e.	*	d.k.	*	*	d.k.	*
400-500	*	n.e.	many, n.e.	*	*	*	*	n.e.	*
400	*	d.k.	d.k.	*	*	*	*	d.k.	*
300	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.	*	*	*	n.e.	*
200	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
175	*	n.e.	d.k.	*	*	*	*	d.k.	*
175	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

^aThe figure represents an absolute number unless a per cent sign is used.

Symbols: * - No answer.

d.k.- The employer said he did not know if members of this minority group were employed.

n.e.- The employer said he had workers of this minority group but made no estimate as to the number or percentage.

tioned in all of the blue-collar occupations: skilled, semiskilled, unskilled, and service.

2. Occupations in which certain minorities were rarely listed --

a. Negroes, in professional, executive, and sales.

b. Orientals and Latin Americans, in executive.

c. Jews, in unskilled and service.

3. Occupations, by industry group, in which minorities were most often mentioned --

a. Negro clerical workers, in wholesale and retail trade and finance and insurance; skilled workers, in public utilities, transportation, and communications; and semiskilled workers, in wholesale and retail trade. In each case roughly half or more of the employers reported having such employees.

b. In all except the service industries, Oriental clerical workers were listed by more than half of the respondents in each group.

c. Latin American clerical workers, in all except the service industries; salespeople, in wholesale and retail trade; skilled work-

ers in public utilities, transportation, and communications. In each case Latin Americans were reported by roughly half or more of the employers.

4. Industry groups which in the largest number of occupational levels had no minority-group employees reported -- first, finance and insurance; second, service industries.

Illustrative data. -- As pointed out above, there is a reasonable presumption that many employers who gave the "don't know" answer regarding non-white employees and were unwilling to make, or have an observational count made, of Negro and Oriental workers, did so because such workers were not employed, or were employed in negligible numbers or only in certain jobs. The data given in Chapter IV on observation of employment (compiled independently of the employer interviews and covering the jobs visible to the public) confirm this in a number of instances.

For example, the personnel director of a bank chain gave the answer "Can't say" to the question as to whether Negroes were employed in professional, semiprofessional, and supervisory jobs, but said he knew they were employed as clerical workers. According to him, Orientals were employed in all these categories, but as with the Negroes, he would make no estimate as to numbers or specific job distribution. He specifically mentioned two Orientals at these levels, one of whom was employed in a branch serving a predominantly nonwhite clientele. He "couldn't say" whether Latin Americans were in professional, semiprofessional, and managerial jobs, and indicated that they were in clerical jobs, but again he gave no details. He said Jewish workers were employed in professional, semiprofessional, managerial, and clerical positions, but gave no further information.

According to this respondent, his company had an "implicit" policy of integration, and Negroes and other minority persons would be considered for jobs in which they were not currently employed if they had the ability. He stated that the company's employment application blanks did not ask about race, religion, or national origin, and that the firm did not care about a person's race or origin but only his ability and character. (A copy of this employment application form, obtained through another source, asked about birthplace and "Parents' nationality, father_____, mother_____.") With regard to Negroes, he said it would be a matter of timing to move them into supervisory positions so that no one would object. He did not think Negroes had been employed long enough to have moved up to managerial positions.

Since this employer would not make an observational check or enable the interviewer to do so, there was no opportunity to obtain a fairly comprehensive count of Negro and Oriental employees and their job distribution in the various divisions of the bank. The observational check, which was done independently of the employer interviews could, of course, cover only those jobs visible to the public, but this procedure does give data on the public-contact jobs such as bank tellers. As shown in Chapter IV, the data on a sample of one-third of the San Francisco branches of this institution showed a negligible number of Negroes employed in jobs visible to the public. Of 315 employees observed, only 4 were Negroes: 1 teller and 3 female clerk-typists. These Negroes were in one branch in a district with a heavy concentration of nonwhites. But in 3 other branches in the same district, no Negroes were observed. In these branches a substantial number of Negro clients were seen, and in the unit with the Negro employees, about 75 per cent of the clientele observed was Negro. Twenty of the 23 Oriental workers observed were in 5 branches in two districts with large nonwhite populations; the others were in 2 downtown offices. Eleven of the Oriental employees observed were tellers, 6 were clerk-typists, and 6 were in other white-collar jobs.

A firm in retail food distribution is an illustration from another industry. This company was reported as having a twenty-year old explicit policy of integration and merit employment, implemented by mention in periodic bulletins. The employment blank asked no questions of ethnic identification, and even cautioned the applicant in naming the organizations with which he was affiliated to list "other than those which reveal your religion, race, or national origin."

A recent bulletin on policy issued by top-level management to this company's managers stated that employment discrimination consists not only of exclusion of members of some groups but also discrimination in favor of the executive's own group, and preference for a person from such a group:

...This is to announce the following policy: No employee or candidate for employment is to be given special treatment or preference because of his ancestry, creed, or membership in a religious, fraternal, or political organization. This applies not only to hiring, but to promotions, work scheduling, and all other activities as well.

Present company policy prohibits discrimination in hiring because of race, creed, color, nationality or political or fraternal affiliation... Some executives still seem inclined to favor people who belong to certain groups. Usually the executive is also a member of that group... According to our present policy no individual is to be refused employment because he is a Mormon, Catholic, an Irishman, or Mason¹. Nor, by the same token, is a superior who is himself identified with any particular group to employ a person merely because he has the same affiliation.

... We can judge any particular executive's compliance with this policy by his record with regard to his subordinates. If he discriminates in favor of or against individuals on any particular category it should be evident from that record. The normal expectancy in this sort of situation would be that our employees would be represented in these various groups just about in the same proportion that the group represents to the total population in the area.

Therefore, every _____ executive ought to lean over backwards to make sure that he is not employing a disproportionate number of people with whom he has a common affiliation. The same principle should be followed in promotions and all other phases of employee relations. If the executive does otherwise he lays himself open, and properly so, to the charge that he is biased and prejudiced in favor of one group and against another.

The respondent from this company pointed out certain employment practices in regard to Negroes which seem to run directly counter to a merit policy. The general practice was not to hire Negroes in certain stores, such as in "high type residential areas," and to place Negroes in Negro districts because the company was afraid of public reaction and didn't "want to stick its neck out," and felt Negroes would get better reception in the Negro neighborhoods. Not only was the distribution of Negro employees restricted, but so were their numbers, because "customers would not want to accept a large influx of minority employees in any one store." The respondent also indicated there was some reluctance to hire Orientals "not because they are Orientals but because they want to obtain experience and learn the business and then go off to start their own business."

¹The groups against which employment discrimination is most frequent -- such as Negroes, Mexican Americans, Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, or Americans of the Jewish faith -- were not cited in this firm's policy bulletin.

The data reported on this firm in Chapter IV indicate that despite the explicit written statement of a merit policy, this firm appeared to have a restrictive hiring policy for Negroes and Orientals and hired a negligible number of them even in areas of heavy nonwhite concentration where a substantial part of the clientele was nonwhite. For example, of 10 branch stores checked in different sections, only 3 Negro workers (3 per cent of the 87 employees observed) and 1 (1 per cent) Oriental worker were seen. These nonwhite workers were concentrated in two stores in a district with a high proportion of Negroes. In a third store in that section there were no nonwhite workers at the time of observation.

The data on employment in department stores -- a segment of retail trade which in San Francisco employs a substantial number of workers -- from the employers and from observation, indicate that a large proportion of these stores did not hire Negro or Oriental sales clerks. Even the stores which did, generally had them in very small numbers. Of 15 department and specialty stores observed, 11 (almost three-fourths) had no Negro sales persons; 2 stores (about 13 per cent) had from one to three; and 2 others from four to 8. Ten of these stores (two-thirds) did not have any Oriental sales persons; 4 (over a quarter) had from one to three; and 1 had four.

The general accuracy of these observations was confirmed by the department store respondents, whose estimates were usually similar to the observations but often not in precise numbers. Public-contact jobs such as retail sales positions seemed highly restricted for Oriental or Negro workers in many department and specialty stores, and even in stores where they were hired, a negligible number were employed. Some idea of the very low proportion of nonwhite sales people in stores where they were working can be seen by comparing the percentage of nonwhites in these jobs to the total sales force in a given store. For example, a department store with a total of almost 1,500 employees estimated that over 40 per cent of its employees were in "non-executive selling positions." Thus about 700 employees were in sales jobs; the 7 Negroes in these jobs were 1 per cent of the total. This was one of the two stores with the highest numbers of Negro sales persons. In the other department store (where the respondent estimated the percentage of Negro sales persons as very tiny, about 1 per cent, and the observation revealed 8 sales persons) the Negroes were also a very small proportion of the total sales force. The total number of sales people in

this company was estimated as around 2,000, so the Negroes observed in sales jobs were less than half of 1 per cent. If we consider the percentage which Negro sales personnel was of the total sales force in the other stores where they were reported, the figure was usually a fraction of 1 per cent. For Oriental sales personnel, in department stores where they were reported, the percentage seemed to be even lower than for Negroes.

The data revealed that the relatively small percentage of employers who reported Negroes in clerical jobs usually had very few. Ten, or one-third, of the 30 respondents who said they had Negro clerical workers could not or would not give estimates of the number or percentage employed. One insurance company respondent, for instance, said his firm had Negro clerical workers, but "couldn't say how many" and indicated that "quite a few" Chinese clerical workers were employed. In discussing executive and lower supervisory jobs, he "didn't know" if minority-group members were employed or how many, and said he wouldn't want to go into this even if he did know. The head office of this company is in a state which has FEPC. A respondent in another insurance company which had an explicit written employment policy of nondiscrimination estimated that Negroes were about 1 per cent of the clerical staff, Japanese Americans constituted approximately 7-8 per cent, and there were an undetermined number of Chinese Americans in clerical jobs. In several other firms in various industries which reported Negro clerical workers, the proportion of Negroes seemed considerably below the 1 per cent figure given by this respondent.

A relatively large percentage of employees in service, unskilled, and semiskilled jobs were reported by employers as being Negro, Oriental, Latin American, or -- frequently in service industries -- Filipino. This is illustrated for one industry in Chapter VI, which deals with employment practices in hotels and restaurants. There it is shown that nonwhites were employed predominantly in the lower-level, unskilled jobs and rarely for upgraded jobs such as food-serving and other public-contact work.

Some of the employers interviewed said they hired Negro workers on merit for skilled, semiskilled, or unskilled jobs, but would not hire them for non-manual jobs. According to a number of respondents, their firms hired Jewish and Latin American workers on what appeared to be a merit basis, but there were various restrictions for Negro and Oriental workers. In other firms, Orientals were reported to be hired for certain higher-level jobs (sales, clerical, technical, professional) in which Negroes were not employed, but

generally in such cases -- except clerical jobs -- there were few Orientals employed in these categories.

Two employers in durable manufacturing described some of these differential patterns. One estimated that in his company about 5 per cent of the skilled and semiskilled workers, respectively, were Negro, but none were employed in professional, technical, executive, low-level supervisory, clerical, or sales jobs. In this plant, 1 per cent of the skilled and semiskilled force, respectively, were Orientals; there was 1 Chinese in sales, 1 or 2 Chinese clerical workers; no Orientals in executive or low-level supervisory jobs; and from 5 to 10 per cent of the professional and technical jobs were estimated to be held by Orientals.

Another respondent in durable manufacturing indicated that the San Francisco office had jurisdiction over the operations on the West Coast and did hiring here autonomously, although the head office of the company was in another state. He did not mention that the state happens to have an FEPC law. In reporting on employment practices of the company operations in San Francisco, he said there was a definite policy of merit employment. Asked how this policy was made known to, and implemented by, the various levels of personnel, he replied that this was implicit.

In rank order of the total number of workers in each job, semiskilled labor was first; skilled labor, second; clerical work, third; professional, semiprofessional, and technical, fourth. Of a total of almost 400 employees in the San Francisco plants, there were only 2 Negroes employed, both in semiskilled labor. No Chinese or Japanese were reported as working in any category. There were 2 Filipino workers -- 1 in service work and 1 in a semiskilled job. While this factory appeared to have restrictions regarding nonwhite workers, there was evidently no bar against Latin American and Jewish workers in the various job categories.

These illustrations -- obtained from interviews with employers, direct observation, and other sources -- suggest that a number of employers in various industries who said they had minority workers but gave no estimate of their number, percentage, or job distribution, either (1) employed a negligible number of these people and rarely in higher-level jobs; (2) employed them on a "token" basis in positions of high visibility where a substantial part of the clientele is of the same minority group; or (3) restricted the employment of these workers to a few branches in sections of the heaviest nonwhite concentration.

4. Reasons Given by Employers for Having No Negro or Oriental Employees or for Having Them in Certain Jobs Only

When an employer did not report minority-group workers in one or more job categories, he was asked, for each category, why this was so. If the reply was that none, or none qualified, had applied, he was asked whether a qualified worker of the given group would be employed if he applied and if there were an opening. The respondent was also asked to go into some detail as to his definition of a qualified worker.

A further question was what the employer thought would ensue if he should begin hiring minority workers in the types of jobs formerly filled entirely by others.

The most information was given on these points with regard to Negroes, and somewhat less for Orientals. It was generally not possible to elicit responses on Jewish or Latin American workers, apparently because of the reported difficulties of identification (though this explanation may have been given in some instances to avoid answering specific questions about practices within a firm). Very little information was provided as to what comprised adequate qualifications -- as asked, for example, when the respondent made a flat statement that members of a particular group were "not qualified" or lacked "the necessary qualifications." There were also few responses as to whether well qualified minority applicants would be hired for available jobs in which none had hitherto worked. To this latter question the employer usually answered (a) that the firm believed in merit hiring, had no objection to any group, and would consider any qualified person, but (b) that other factors were involved, over which, it was claimed, management could exercise little or no control.

Some of the responses referred specifically to Negroes. The reasons given by employers for nonemployment of this group are classified by occupation in Table 27.¹

¹These figures include only the respondents who gave these answers to the specific question on reasons for their nonemployment of Negroes in one or more types of jobs; not included are other respondents who volunteered such comments at other points in the interview.

TABLE 27. REASONS GIVEN BY EMPLOYERS FOR NOT HAVING NEGRO WORKERS
IN ONE OR MORE JOB CATEGORIES, BY OCCUPATION^a

Reasons	Profes- sional	Mgrl. & Supvr.	Cleri- cal	Sales	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	Serv- ice	Unspeci- fied
<u>Labor sources</u>									
Unions don't send			1	2	10	11	1		
Employment agen- cies don't send			4	1					
Negroes don't apply	7		29	13	3	2	1		
<u>Factors within firm</u>									
Decentralized hiring authority	1		18	9	3	4	2		
Promotion from within, seniority, etc.	1	16	2	1	2	1	1		4
Low turnover	2		11	6	2				
<u>Characteristics</u> <u>attributed to Negroes</u>									
Physical or mental		2	3	1					5
Social	1	2	10	5	3				
Skills, experience, etc.	6	2	22	7	7	1			
<u>Expected objections</u>									
By employees	2		26	3	6	2	1	1	4
By customers	4		9	30	2	2		1	
<u>Expected problems</u> <u>for Negro worker</u>									
			2	3		1			1
<u>Other reasons</u>	1		7	6					1

^aSome employers gave more than one reason.

As this table indicates, clerical and sales were the two types of jobs for which most frequent mention was made of reasons for not hiring Negroes. Nearly one-third (30 per cent) of the respondents said that customers would object to Negro sales personnel. The absence of Negro clerical workers, on the other hand, was attributed by 26 per cent of the employers to anticipated employee objections, and by 18 per cent to supervisors or department heads having decentralized hiring authority.

It will be noted that except for clerical positions, relatively few respondents gave failure of Negroes to apply or lack of skill or experience as explanations for absence of such employees. Numerous other reasons were offered, ranging through referral practices of employment agencies and unions; physical, mental, or social characteristics attributed to Negroes as a group; anticipated objections by customers or employees; other factors within the firm; and the view that hiring the individual Negro worker would lead to problems of some sort for him.

Except for two factors -- lack of applicants or of performance qualifications -- it would appear that the offering of these explanations for the nonemployment of Negroes in various job categories evidenced limiting factors, the operation of which distinctly fell short of merit employment practice. For example, 24 respondents who said their firms did not have Negro workers in certain jobs because employees would object, and 23 who cited possible objections of customers, were among the 74 who laid claim to a definite merit policy. That policy claim was thereby in effect acknowledged to be false or exaggerated by these respondents. The same inconsistency appeared in the replies of 17 employers who gave as a reason for nonemployment of Negroes the fact that the firm's final hiring authority was decentralized, with some individual supervisors or division or department heads determining their own employment practices on a restrictive basis. In each of the foregoing instances approximately two-thirds of the respondents offering the reason claimed to be operating under a merit employment policy.

For the other occupational categories, except unskilled and service, the leading explanation in each case -- although by small numbers -- related not to direct restrictive practices but to the source of such personnel. For unskilled and service jobs in which Negroes were not employed, reasons were given in only 8 instances.

Table 28 presents another facet: statements made, by industry, as to why

nonwhites were not employed. The respondents generally gave similar responses concerning both Negro and Oriental workers, although there were some exceptions, e.g. a greater resistance against Negro female clerical workers than Oriental, and an occasional differentiation between Negro and Oriental men, as from one respondent who said that the latter were not hired for certain clerical or sales jobs "because they want to get the experience and then go into business for themselves."

The reasons given for nonemployment are classified in the same fashion in both Tables 27 and 28. Most of the discussion of these factors which follows relates -- though in some instances in differing degree -- to the data summarized in both tables, and our main reference will be to treatment accorded or appraisals of nonwhites generally. It should be noted that the respondent could give more than one reason, and that absolute numbers are always identical with percentages of the total number of employers interviewed.

Not only among reasons given relating to labor sources, but among all reasons, the statement that nonwhites do not apply ranked highest, with 40 respondents (40 per cent) so answering for one or more job categories. For the absence of Negroes from one occupation, clerical work, 29 respondents gave this explanation. At first glance it might appear that whether or not job applicants present themselves to an employer is a matter over which he has little or no influence. Those acquainted with the labor market and with recruiting and referral processes are, however, well aware of a number of ways in which interaction normally takes place between the employer and potential labor sources; and although in some situations the employer may be obliged to play a relatively weak role in recruitment, it is reasonably clear that in most cases he is able to exercise various choices as to the channels and techniques through which he seeks job recruits, and hence whether he encourages applications from persons of one group or another. These considerations would seem to hold with special force for a physically distinguishable minority group whose members are not generally or fully established in a particular area, occupation, or industry.

We shall not endeavor to evaluate or interpret fully these responses asserting lack of nonwhite applicants in various firms and job classifications. It may be useful, however, simply to list, with brief comment, some of the interpretations, one or more of which might apply to a particular occupation in a firm claiming to have had no such applicants. We shall

TABLE 28. REASONS GIVEN BY EMPLOYERS FOR NOT HAVING NONWHITE WORKERS
IN ONE OR MORE JOB CATEGORIES, BY INDUSTRY^a

Reasons	Finance and Insurance (N = 10)		Durable Mfg. (N = 7)		Nondurable Mfg. (N = 23)		Food Processing ^b (N = 13)		Pub. Util., Trans., & Commun. (N = 19)		Service (N = 10)		Building and Construction (N = 4)		Retail Trade (N = 14)	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Labor sources																
Unions don't send			1	14.3	4	17.4	5	38.5	4	21.0	1	10.0	1	25.0	1	7.1
Employment agencies don't send	1	10.0	1	14.3			1	7.7	1	5.3						
Nonwhites don't apply	3	30.0	5	71.4	8	34.8	7	53.8	7	36.8	2	20.0	3	75.0	5	35.7
Factors within firm																
Decentralized hiring authority			1	14.3	6	26.1	6	46.2	4	21.0	1	10.0			4	28.6
Promotion from within, seniority, etc.	3	30.0	2	28.6	4	17.4	1	7.7	7	36.8			1	25.0	4	28.6
Low turnover					3	13.0	4	30.8	2	10.5			1	25.0	2	14.3
Characteristics attributed to nonwhites																
Physical or mental	1	10.0			2	8.7					1	10.0	1	25.0	1	7.1
Social	3	30.0	3	42.8	4	17.4	2	15.4	7	36.8	4	40.0	1	25.0	3	21.4
Skills, experience, etc.	2	20.0	3	42.8	10	43.5	1	7.7	12	63.2	2	20.0	1	25.0	6	42.8

assume, for purposes of this analysis, that all respondents were wholly accurate, to the best of their knowledge. The list of possible interpretations follows:

1. It may be that nonwhite applicants do come forward in some cases, but are rejected or "brushed off" by lower-level personnel without the knowledge of the respondent. The personnel doing this could so act on the understanding that this accorded with company policy, or in the absence of any policy, or in ignorance of an informal and uncommunicated merit policy, or in violation of an understood merit policy. Management has ultimate responsibility for any one of these actions, especially if a recurrent practice.

2. The union may deny membership to nonwhites, and the company may be required under its labor contract to hire only those sent by the union or who can gain admission to it after hiring. Although the employer may have legal recourse under certain circumstances of this nature, he may decide not to risk possible retaliation from the union. (Some respondents -- perhaps all so affected -- specified unions as an obstacle separate from the "nonwhites don't apply" answer. The role of unions is discussed briefly below and more extensively in other chapters.)

3. If the employer depends heavily on private employment agencies for recruitment, and if he has not explicitly informed them (or otherwise shown) that he would accept qualified nonwhite workers, most agencies will rarely raise the question -- and never refer such an applicant without first asking.¹ As reported earlier in this chapter, only three of the executives interviewed said that their firms placed explicitly nondiscriminatory job orders with placement agencies. (The great majority -- 84 -- stated simply that they refrained from discriminatory specifications.)

4. If the firm's work force is all-white, and if relatives and friends of present workers comprise an important labor source, the odds will be against receiving nonwhite applicants.

5. Nonwhite job-seekers, like others, tend to apply where they think there is some likelihood of being hired, and since many believe that racial discrimination is widespread in San Francisco employment, the employer who has hired no or few nonwhites, or has kept such workers in low-level jobs,

¹See Chapter VII.

or has made no effort to recruit among this group will receive relatively few nonwhite applicants. This undoubtedly holds true especially in times of comparatively low unemployment. It also applies when government employment is sustained at high levels and continues to draw minority-group persons who not only know that historically it has been easier to find government jobs, but feel that for them such jobs are more secure than in private industry and offer more opportunity for promotion on merit. This survey has been conducted in a period and area characterized by both of the above conditions. At the same time we found very little evidence among the 100 employers of operating policies or recruiting activities which would tend to encourage nonwhite job-seekers to apply.

6. School counselors here, according to the San Francisco Urban League, have tended for some years to steer nonwhite youth away from training for occupations known or believed to be racially restricted. This may have the effect of reinforcing the tendencies, mentioned above, to leave many private employers more or less free of a certain "normal" pressure from nonwhite as well as white applicants for work. (Again a vicious circle appears: lack of clear and communicated merit employment policy on the part of private employers, nonwhite job-seekers concentrating on government job sources plus a few well-known private establishments, counselors discouraging nonwhite youth from certain types of training, and, coming full circle, employers reporting no applicants.)

The foregoing are some of the possible explanations for the statements by 40 respondents that nonwhites don't apply at their firms. The converse may be worth attention on this as on other answers in this series: 60 per cent of the employers did not report a lack of nonwhite applicants.

The other two main labor-source reasons given by employers to explain absence of nonwhite employees in one or more job categories were the alleged failure (1) of some unions to send them to jobs, and (2) of employment agencies to refer such applicants. Neither factor ranked high. Seventeen respondents cited the union obstacle for nonwhites, including 5 (38.5 per cent) of those in food processing, 4 (21 per cent) in public utilities, and 4 (17.4 per cent) in nondurable manufacturing. Ten employers said the unions don't send Negroes for their skilled openings, and 11 so reported for semiskilled jobs. The numbers of firms in either table citing failure of employment agencies to refer Negroes or other nonwhites were quite small.

It is possible that some respondents answering "nonwhites don't apply" were referring to all labor sources without distinction among them.

A number of unions covering both semiskilled and skilled work were mentioned by respondents in various industries as not referring Negro or Oriental workers to them. One employer in durable manufacturing said that the craft union local with which his firm dealt had not dispatched any nonwhites to him; nor did he know of any nonwhite apprentices in this union local.¹ Another employer (nondurable manufacturing) reported that the glassworkers' union upon which he depended mainly for recruitment did not refer Negroes and, presumably, had none in its membership. This response was typical of those of several other employers.

Following are further examples of situations in which employers stated that the failure of unions to refer nonwhites to them was a reason for non-employment of such workers in certain capacities:

A metal trades manufacturer who deals with three unions covering semiskilled jobs said that while he would be pleased to accept capable Negro or Oriental workers, none had been sent to him by any of these three unions over the last 15 years. This employer, who said he had an implicit merit employment policy, had not communicated to the unions his interest in having referrals on a wholly nondiscriminatory basis.

A building and construction firm said that it would hire Negroes as truck-drivers, but the union apparently had no such members and therefore referred none. There was no indication that the employer had made his views on this point clear to the union.

An employer in food processing and distribution reported that nonwhites were not employed in a semiskilled capacity including selling because they could not get into the drivers' union. Four other respondents in the same industry explained their lack of nonwhite semiskilled personnel on the basis of union practices.

A retail trade respondent said that the union had never sent back to his store those Negroes whom he had referred to the union to apply for membership.

In public utilities, transportation, and communications, four employers cited the unions' failure to refer

¹A union source subsequently reported that a Negro had recently become an apprentice under this local. This was the first such apprentice, according to the informant.

Negroes and Orientals. One respondent characterized a union with which he deals as "pure white," with no nonwhites allowed. Another, a trucking firm, reported no referrals of nonwhites.

A hotel executive attributed to union practice the fact that no Negroes were employed in the semi-skilled job of waiter. This executive, however, added another reason: that customers would not accept Negro waiters because this is contrary to "tradition" in San Francisco.

The last case above serves as a reminder that some employers may have been inclined to place sole responsibility upon a union for absence of nonwhites although other considerations may have been in fact equally or more decisive.

We should recall at this point the findings recorded earlier in this chapter concerning the general neglect by employers of the vital function of communicating their claimed merit hiring policies to their own employees, to placement agencies, or to the unions (through contract nondiscrimination provisions and other means¹), much less to the general community. As will be shown, there is much evidence indicating that both management and labor have largely failed to give the clear and strong expression to merit policies which would effectively govern the practices of the key "gatekeepers" and functionaries in the hiring and upgrading processes. One consequence is a certain tendency on the part of all three main parties controlling these processes -- employer, placement agency, and union -- to contend that the real responsibility for limitations on job opportunity lies with one or both of the other two. Full discussion of the respective roles of these three institutions with regard to minority employment appears in later chapters.² It is safe to conclude, in any event, that the end result in many specific situations is hiring or upgrading subject to racial or religious criteria.

Another group of reasons given for limited employment of nonwhites are those which refer to factors within the firm. Among these, the classification decentralized hiring authority includes companies in which department or division heads, or other supervisors, had final authority over

¹Of 481 management-labor contracts studied in the San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Area in 1956, only 29, or 6 per cent, contained nondiscrimination clauses.

²See Chapters V, VI, VII, VIII, IX.

selection of personnel, or where central management deferred to their preferences, and where respondents gave this as a reason for nonemployment of nonwhites. Illustrative responses indicated that this restrictive factor was not limited to occupations such as sales, clerical, or managerial, but operated also in manual work of varying degrees of skill:

From a respondent (durable manufacturing) who gave this reason for having no nonwhites in certain skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled jobs: "We can't control whom the superintendent on the job hires. We can't control him. Some are characters. They have their own viewpoint and are individuals. Some like Negroes and Orientals, some don't."

An executive in nondurable manufacturing said: "We can't force a department head to take a given applicant. He can make the choice."

Other similar statements as to departmental hiring autonomy and restrictive practices were cited earlier in this chapter in the discussion of merit policy claims.¹ Following are additional examples of such responses:

A respondent in the area of public utilities, transportation, and communications: "Supervisors object to Negro clerical workers, and they have the final say as to who is hired. Supervisors have to battle the bigoted ones to get them to accept Negroes into clerical jobs."

Another employer in these industries: indicated that an "unreconstructed Southerner" was in a top management position and could not "see" nonwhite women as clerical workers.

Other respondents in retail trade, a service industry, and nondurable manufacturing gave similar responses as to why Negroes and Orientals were not employed in sales, clerical, and supervisory jobs, including such statements as that management cannot do anything about the supervisor's biases; the supervisor or department head feels that minority people would not "fit into the work group"; or where the supervisor or manager has veto power in the hiring process, management is unable or reluctant to "interfere."

It is not our purpose to comment on the wisdom or necessity of decentralized hiring authority as such -- simply to note that the company which knowingly permits department heads to apply ethnic or color standards in such hiring is engaged in discriminatory practice. Twenty-two per cent of the employ-

¹See pp. 22, 26-28.

ers interviewed revealed such practice.¹

Another set of factors which were internal to the firm included seniority rules and policies of promotion from within. Twenty-two per cent of the employers gave such reasons for the absence of nonwhites from certain jobs, with a range of from 25 to 37 per cent of the respondents in five industry groupings so reporting. Among employers referring specifically to Negroes, 16 gave these reasons for having none at a managerial level.

Concerning factors such as seniority and promotion from within, the executives interviewed indicated that management had little or no control, and therefore could not modify the consequences for nonwhite job-seekers. Whether management is helpless to this extent with regard to such policies may be open to question. In any event, the possible interrelationships between factors of this sort and hiring practices affecting minority-group workers may be seen in the following recital: (1) Some respondents reported that they had no Negroes or Orientals in supervisory or managerial positions because of the company's practice of promotion from within, plus the fact that no nonwhites had been on the job long enough to establish seniority and work their way up. Yet (2) there are indications -- e.g. from college placement officers -- that nonwhite applicants (and in some cases, Jews) find themselves barred even from low-level jobs because some firms want only those who can be groomed for eventual supervisory positions, and it is predetermined that minority employees may not move up to such levels. (3) Excluded from these low-level jobs, the applicant does not have the opportunity to acquire experience and seniority, to demonstrate his job abilities, and to be considered for promotion from within. (One employer in nondurable manufacturing put it succinctly: giving promotion from within as the explanation for having no Negroes in sales, supervisory, or managerial positions, he said, "If we don't hire them at the lower levels, then they can't get into the higher ones.") Thus certain common personnel practices, while not in themselves discriminatory, may have such an effect in a given firm unless there is also a consistent

¹This response is probably biased downward, since there is evidence that in most firms supervisors or department heads exercise choice, veto power, or sole decision in personnel selection. This was shown by F. Theodore Malm in his article, "Hiring Procedures and Selection Standards in the San Francisco Bay Area" (op. cit.). Of 320 Bay Area firms answering a question as to how hiring was done, only 21 per cent indicated "by employment or personnel officer, acting alone." (p. 233.)

merit employment policy governing both hiring and upgrading.

It will be noted that distinctions are drawn in Tables 27 and 28 between three types of characteristics to which some employers referred as reasons for not hiring Negroes or other nonwhites: (a) physical or mental traits attributed generally to all or most persons of the minority group; (b) social characteristics similarly assumed (e.g. personality factors, work habits, level of aspiration, interpersonal relations); and (c) lack of qualifications in terms of specific skills, experience, or training. Some respondents appeared to base their assumptions concerning physical, mental, and social characteristics on common stereotyped views of minority groups. This process of stereotyping is defined and illustrated in the next section of the present chapter. The crux of the question, from the standpoint of merit employment, is whether the individual job-seeker is considered solely in terms of his fitness for the particular opening (including, where a requirement for the job, capacity for growth and advancement), and not in terms of the actual or assumed weaknesses of other individuals of similar racial or ethnic identification.

The matter of claimed inadequacy in specific job qualifications is complex and does not admit of ready conclusions as to the objective situation. Note, for example, that whereas 22 employers attributed the absence of Negro clerical workers in their establishments to lack of such qualifications, 78 others either stated that they employed Negroes in these capacities or gave different reasons for not doing so. Again, the data suggest that "qualifications" as used by some respondents were not directly related to specific competency or performance skills, but to other matters such as "lack of experience" or "lack of local experience," and that Negroes aspiring to upgraded jobs were sometimes "typed" by having a history of unskilled or service work here or elsewhere.

Lack of education or of certain types of training may be a limiting factor for minority as for nonminority job-seekers, and this was mentioned by a number of respondents. This factor is extremely difficult to weigh and to place in perspective. We shall merely suggest a few points which may contribute to the analysis.

Even assuming that some proportion of Negro workers migrating to San Francisco from Southern states have been disadvantaged by educational inequalities in the South, it must be remembered that (a) young Negro graduates have been going forth from Bay Area high schools and from institutions of higher learning for a number of years since World War II, with training comperable

to that of their classmates, and (b) Oriental families have been in the Bay Area in many cases for several generations, and that many have placed great emphasis on providing good education for their children. It would seem, then, that in recent years substantial numbers of nonwhite youth have acquired more or less the same general educational background as white youth in this area.

If this is so, and if there are in fact some differentials between non-white and white young people with regard to specific skills, what accounts for these differentials? One important factor, according to many signs, is a lower level of expectation of equal occupational opportunity among non-white youth, an assumption on their part that employers or unions, or both, generally will not open their doors, especially to Negroes. There appears to be an incentive-sapping, defeatist outlook among many of these young people, and a general failure to give them -- despite the best efforts of the Urban League and some counselors -- encouragement or direction in facing the vexing problems of vocational choice and training. As reported above, moreover, some counselors still advise Negro and Oriental youth against preparing for lines of work in which the counselor believes (rightly or wrongly) that opportunities are racially restricted. So we come again to recognition of the importance of what are understood to be the employment opportunities for minority job-seekers in the community at any given time. Whether the employer makes such opportunities known, where they in fact exist, would seem to have considerable bearing on the present or future availability of qualified applicants.

These matters were deemed sufficiently important by the President's Committee on Government Contracts to warrant its sponsorship of a special conference on "youth training-incentives" in Washington, D.C., in early February, 1957. Addressing this conference on February 4, Brig. Gen. David Sarnoff, board chairman of Radio Corporation of America, said:

On the basis of our own experience in working with minority groups, it seems to me that Industry's responsibility for providing training-incentives is three-fold:

First, it must expand job opportunity so that there will be an incentive for a man or woman to prepare for a higher-level position.

Second, it must publicize information about its present openings and its anticipated needs.

Third, it must help to educate and train minority groups so that they will be able to take advantage of expanded job opportunities.

This industrialist, who states that his company has practiced merit employment since it was organized in 1919, placed great stress upon both opening up job opportunities to minority-group workers and giving such present or anticipated opportunities wide publicity.

Those employers who mentioned having their own training programs usually said that selection of trainees was done on a nondiscriminatory basis, although other responses indicated various limitations against nonwhites in upgraded jobs, especially those which might lead to middle or upper management levels.

With respect to the acquisition of specific skills, it appears that the formal or institutional kinds of training are less important overall than informal, on-the-job experience and training. According to the National Manpower Council, some 60 per cent of skilled manual workers develop their skills outside any formal training program:

Work experience and informal training from supervisors and fellow workers are the main sources of skill information. This means that promotion ladders, seniority systems, union rules, and labor market mobility are the key determinants of who has what opportunity to learn which skills. This is no denial that apprenticeship programs and formal training programs are of great importance. But the extent to which we have recently come to realize the role played by unorganized and informal practices suggests that companies foreseeing a need for building a more skilled and more flexible work force would do well to examine their informal shop practices and their negotiated shop rules, especially their seniority rules, to see how they affect the process of skill formation within their own work force.¹

The foregoing passage presupposes that the man who may in the future become a valuable skilled worker is already on the given firm's work force. If the minority-group applicant is stopped in his efforts at initial entry into the firm, however, then obviously he cannot qualify himself for upgraded positions. Again the outlines of the vicious circle are seen.

Finally, the interviews did not yield information as to whether the respondents who said that they had no nonwhites in certain categories because of

¹George D. Baldwin, "Automation and the Skills of the Labor Force," in Improving the Work Skills of the Nation (New York: National Manpower Council, 1955), p. 97.

lack of skills or experience had observed this lack while formerly employing some such workers in these capacities, discovered it in pre-employment examination of a large number of applicants, based the response on statements by placement agencies, or simply assumed it. If based on actual experience or information, moreover, such would be reliable only if of reasonably recent date, since availability of persons of certain skills could change considerably, even in the short run.

General statements as to lack of specific job qualifications among members of a given minority group also suggest certain other questions. Since such qualifications may be acquired, their absence in a group at one period need not remain a fixed fact. It is common knowledge that in San Francisco there are continuing manpower shortages in certain job categories. It may be asked whether a firm or industry which is short of workers of certain skills would not normally communicate this word to potential training and placement sources, and to relatively untapped labor pools, in an effort to stimulate a flow of capable applicants. It would seem, too, that informed recruitment activities on the part of companies with genuine merit hiring policies would take into account, and seek to overcome, the general assumption among minority groups that they are still confronted with serious discriminatory bars to employment. Yet this study has encountered almost no employer recruitment efforts of this nature.

Further discussion of the relation of recruitment to meaningful merit policy is offered elsewhere in this volume. At this point we have endeavored merely to suggest some of the complexities involved in the judgment that a given group lacks certain qualifications in terms of skill, training, or experience. That judgment, it would seem, may be false or dubious in some cases, of quite limited applicability in others, or based on unrealistic and static notions as to how to discover or develop a force of skilled workers. Or the claim that proper qualifications are lacking in a group may in some instances reflect the employer's resistance or indifference to dropping his traditional job barriers against members of certain minority groups.

Anticipated objections by employees were cited by a substantial proportion of employers -- 33 of the 100 interviewed -- as a reason for non-employment of Negroes or Orientals. The respondents infrequently indicated the bases of their stated fear of adverse employee reactions.

Following are illustrative responses on this point from employers in food processing and distribution:

Our employees might feel uncomfortable about working with Negro and Oriental clerical workers, and would object.

If we hire Negro women as clerical workers, some of our white women employees would object to working in close contact with them and to using the same rest room.

When an Oriental woman was first hired as a secretary, there was a problem and the nonminority clerical workers made cutting remarks, but she is now accepted. A Negro woman would run into unpleasantness if she were hired. The white clerical workers would object to her.

Regarding employment of Negro clerical workers, we polled our staff and found we would lose one-half of it if Negroes were hired.¹

Our work group would object to Negroes and Orientals in clerical and sales jobs, and might quit.

Comments from employers in public utilities, transportation, and communications who referred to expected employee objections included:

Negroes and Orientals are not employed. Our skilled work group wants segregated sleeping quarters while the men are on the road. Our workers, who are unionized, would object if Negroes and Orientals were hired, go to the grievance committee and might quit.

Our employees would object to Negro clerical workers, especially in the matter of rest rooms.

Negroes are not hired in professional, skilled, and semiskilled jobs as we work in small, autonomous groups and the employees would object.

We don't hire Negro clerical workers because our lower-income and lower-class workers objected to working with a Negro in two cases.

¹Several research studies, including *A Manual of Intergroup Relations* by John P. Dean and Alex Rosen, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), have pointed out that such a poll of employees is likely to elicit a negative response, whereas if management establishes and communicates a firm policy of merit employment, the employees generally accept this as a matter of course. According to Dean and Rosen, "Polling those involved in advance of an intergroup change typically calls forth many more negative reactions than will actually occur if the change is undertaken as matter-of-factly as any other change that might be instituted" (p. 160; italics the authors').

Negroes and Orientals are not in clerical or sales work because there is fear on the part of the work group of too much competitive pressure.

An employer in durable manufacturing stated, "We don't have Negro clerical workers. We'd be more afraid of losing nonminority women than men if we did because women are more squeamish about using the restrooms, eating utensils, etc."

In retail trade, a respondent said there had been a lot of pressure from female workers but not so much from males against hiring Negroes and Orientals for clerical and sales jobs. Another employer in the same industry said that employees would object to Negroes in clerical and sales jobs, and that "Negroes are degrading to the profession of selling."

Respondents in finance and insurance mentioned employee resistance as a reason for not hiring Negro workers in clerical, sales, or supervisory jobs, giving such reasons as:

It's a matter of timing of moving Negroes into supervisory positions so that no employees will object.

We would lose an unknown percentage of workers if Negroes were hired.

We'd better not hire one Negro for clerical work or the whole department will quit.

Negro clerical workers are not assimilable on the part of our white employees.

In building and construction, an employer, speaking of skilled and clerical jobs, said, "In San Francisco, the Oriental is accepted by fellow employees; the Negro is not accepted. In New York City the Negro is accepted, and the Oriental not, by employees." He explained that employer practice in these matters is a subtle thing and reflects the unconscious influence of employee pressure.

Another respondent in building and construction elaborated on the concept of "qualifications." His response suggested that there are other factors involved aside from competency or skills when some employers say that a given minority worker is "lacking in qualifications." The ethnic identification and the subordinate minority status are in themselves apparently regarded as a limiting factor, especially for situations where the employee represents the company and comes into face-to-face contact with its clien-

tele or potential market. This respondent, when he explained why Negroes and Orientals are not hired in sales, clerical, professional, or technical jobs, said, "The qualifications include relationships with employees and especially with clients and the public." He continued that his employees would not take kindly to Negro men or women in clerical jobs and that his skilled laborers (who work in pairs) would object to working with a Negro.

Employers in nondurable manufacturing indicated employee objections as a reason for not employing Negroes and Orientals, or for having them in certain jobs only, with such responses as these:

Negro or Oriental supervisors would be a threat in the eyes of some co-workers. Regarding Negro and Oriental clerical workers, there is hesitation about overloading one department with the minority group as the nonminority then starts to feel in the minority in the work situation.

When a Negro was put in a supervisory job in the janitorial force, a nonminority worker said, "I'll be damned if I'll take orders from a Negro." Management told this complaining worker to go elsewhere, as the Negro couldn't.

The employees would object to Negro and Oriental clerical workers because our employees have acquired "social caste."

Hiring Negroes and Orientals for sales jobs is mostly a problem here of co-workers, not management. The middle-class values of our employees are too sharp. The Negro clerical worker is not well integrated or accepted into the society.

The women here would object if Negro women were hired as clerical workers. But they are going to have to get over it because the Negroes are going to compete and get their jobs when hired.

The last respondent was one of the few who acknowledged in effect that non-minority workers can adjust to new minority employees.

The responses from 35 employers (35 per cent) who gave assumed customer resistance as the reason for not hiring Negroes or Orientals for certain jobs document the conclusion that these workers face restrictions in numerous jobs involving public contact in various industries in San Francisco. Many employers claimed there would be a risk to their business if minority workers were hired because it was assumed that customers would object or take their business elsewhere. Yet there was usually little or no express recognition of

the fact that other employers in the same industry -- either in San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, or other cities -- have employed minority workers in similar jobs. Generally, in such cases, where there was definite implementation of the company policy, customers, like employees, took the situation for granted in a relatively short period. Not only was there no loss of business but in some instances increased trade came from both minority and nonminority customers. In San Francisco, for example, the several department stores with some Negro and Oriental sales people did not report the serious problems anticipated by firms which do not hire nonwhite sales personnel.

The responses illustrated the wide range of public-contact jobs from which Negroes and Orientals were often excluded in San Francisco. These included: sales jobs within a store, sales representative or delivery man to stores and homes, services involving handling and serving food or beverages, clerical work in business offices or financial institutions where customers can see the employees, professional and semiprofessional jobs which involve sales or calling on clients, technical jobs which involve personal services, skilled or unskilled labor involving face-to-face contact in the homes or businesses of customers, "front" jobs in hotels, and unskilled or semiskilled service jobs such as service station attendant.

These comments are from employers in food processing and distribution:

Grocers would object to Negro salesmen calling on them; the grocers are hard people to deal with.

The housewife would object to a Negro in sales.

Grocery stores don't want Negro and Oriental salesmen in stores. We have been told by store owners that they don't want them carrying products into stores.

Because of the association of our product, dairy goods with sanitation, Negroes and Orientals are not acceptable for certain jobs. Negroes are not considered presentable and acceptable in the eyes of the public for sales.

The public has objected to the Negro in professional work, and says things like, "I'll wait till the other man comes back on duty," when a Negro pharmacist is on the job.

From firms in public utilities, transportation, and communications, the responses included these:

Negroes and Orientals are not employed in sales. We have to please the public. The public would object.

Negroes and Orientals are not acceptable to the public for clerical and sales jobs. Once public resistance is broken, then they will be hired by management. The customer would object also to too many minority people in the office.

According to an employer in durable manufacturing, no Negroes or Orientals were employed in sales because "the customers would object to the first one." Another employer in the same field said there were no nonwhites in sales jobs because "the company would be taking a chance that the dealer might resent it, complain, and take it out on the company."

A respondent in retail trade said, "We feel a reluctance on the part of management and the customers to see Negroes placed in sales and clerical work." Another in retail trade, explaining why Negroes and Orientals were not employed in sales, said, "Customers would object to a large influx of any minority group in one store." A third retail store reported that no Negroes were employed in sales because it "would have to be the right person. Our clientele is more critical than the average customer."

Respondents in service industries gave anticipated customer objection as a reason for not hiring minority workers for certain jobs. Those from hotels and restaurants included the following:

Customers would object to Negroes and Orientals in "front of the house" jobs and to having them at the desks as room clerks.

Negroes and Orientals can be used only in "behind the scene" jobs. They will be accepted for "front" jobs in sales, service, and semiskilled jobs as soon as the public changes its attitudes about them.

The public may resent minority workers in sales and other jobs where they are used to nonminority workers in those jobs.

Negroes cannot be used in sales or skilled jobs in public view. We can only use them in jobs that are away from the customers' view.

Respondents in financial and insurance companies mentioned assumed customer objections to hiring Negroes. Two said customers would object to them in sales capacities, one of these said the objection would also relate to clerical jobs. A third respondent, in a bank, said that their depositors

who come from the South would object to Negro clerical workers, and this might jeopardize the bank's position with the customers.

Seven respondents (of 29) in nondurable manufacturing gave expected customer objections as a reason why Negro or Oriental workers were not employed or not hired for certain jobs. Following are several responses:

We wonder how the buyers (in firms we do business with) would react to Negro and Oriental sales people and entertain them.

Negroes and Orientals are not employed in sales. We're afraid of what the other fellow will think. Therefore we lean over backward not to rock the boat.

Customers would object to Negro and Oriental sales and clerical workers. The buyers would penalize us.

Other people (our customers) would object to Negro clerical workers. We're not sure that Negro sales people would be accepted by the rest of the industry.

Customers might object to Negro and Oriental sales people and not be as broadminded as our company. Our average contract is half a million dollars, and we can't risk jeopardizing a customer contract.

Six respondents gave as a reason for not hiring nonwhites their concern about problems which, they felt, would result for the minority worker or group. The main tenor of these replies was that the individual would feel isolated, left out of small, congenial work groups, uncomfortable, and unhappy. Following are illustrative comments, the first of which is from a service industry respondent and the rest from employers in nondurable manufacturing:

Negro girls might not accept jobs as waitresses because of fear that they would be looked upon as out of their accepted work sphere.

Our greatest concern about hiring Negro and Oriental clerical workers is that they wouldn't be accepted into intimate relations with our people here. The minority workers would feel uncomfortable and rejected, and that they didn't belong.

Negroes don't want sales jobs (and the firm does not hire them for such jobs) because of incidents that might happen.

It would be asking a minority to take a pretty big step in getting into an area where there never have been any -- such as Negroes in sales jobs.

Negro and Oriental clerical workers are not employed because applicants want to feel chosen by the department head as they will be working with him.

Among these respondents there appeared to be no awareness either of the various successful programs of employment integration developed by nationally known firms, or of the satisfactory experience in this respect reported by other major San Francisco employers (see section 6 below). Little interest in this matter was evinced, despite the fact that many of the respondent firms -- especially the larger ones -- had well developed personnel departments whose officers might be assumed to be abreast of the latest thinking and practice in the personnel field.

Miscellaneous other reasons were offered by various respondents for their nonemployment of nonwhites in one or more job categories. Some of these appeared to be closely related to certain of the foregoing groups of reasons given, yet classification might have been dubious. For example: 3 respondents said they did not know or could not gauge the degree of "risk" in hiring nonwhites; 1 said that his firm's vacancies were filled even before they occurred; another, that many of his replacements came through the person leaving; 1 gave no definite reason; another stated simply that he would not hire Negroes for clerical work; 1 employer commented that management at best is not easy, and that the hiring of nonwhites would add a new problem to an already difficult situation; 2 referred to tendencies imputed to nonwhites to "stick together," to recommend friends and relatives for employment, or for the minority person who might achieve supervisory status to seek to hire only those of his own group; 1 respondent said it would be against the "tradition in the industry" to employ Negroes in clerical capacities; another cited the seasonal character of his business (not explaining the relevance of this factor); and 1 employer stated that the minority-group worker, especially the Negro or Oriental, could not compete with the nonminority employee merely by virtue of his minority status.

The following section analyzes those explanations given by respondents relating to physical, mental, or social characteristics which they attributed to Negroes or Orientals.

5. Stereotypes Expressed by Employers Regarding Minority-Group Workers

Among the major reasons given by employers for not hiring minority workers or for employing them only for certain jobs were certain stereotyped characteristics attributed to minority-group members.

Walter Lippmann first proposed the term "stereotypes" to refer to the images we hold in our minds which provide us with ready-made frames of reference for interpreting matters about which we are only partly informed. According to the social psychologist Theodore Newcomb, when we perceive in a stereotyped manner, individual differences among members of a group are largely ignored. For example, very different individual Negroes are perceived as being the same. Often some single cue, such as skin color, is enough to call out these perceptions, which may include attributes of personality, intelligence, and morals, even though little more than skin color is observed.¹

While usually derogatory, stereotypes about members of racial, religious, or ethnic minority groups are sometimes favorable. Whether favorable or unfavorable, stereotyped thinking lumps together all individuals in a group and assumes all are essentially alike.

In practice, stereotyped thinking often entails what sociologist Robert Merton calls "the self-fulfilling prophecy." If, for example, many employers do not hire Negro women as clerical workers because of certain stereotyped assumptions as to their capabilities, private employment agencies then do not refer them for openings, and schools and counselors may discourage Negro girls from training for this work. Then some employers will be found saying, "Negro women don't apply for clerical jobs and don't go in for such work." So the initial stereotype has become a factor operating to cause and "justify" restrictive hiring practices and the generalization that "Negro women lack the qualifications."

It is obvious that such stereotyping of members of minority groups, where it occurs, is wholly contradictory to the principle of merit employment. Either the particular individual is considered entirely in terms of his individual capabilities and characteristics with reference to the job to be filled, or he is not. Yet many of the 100 executives interviewed revealed such stereotyped thinking in discussing their reasons for restricted employment of nonwhites, and it became clear that this thinking has

¹Theodore Newcomb, Social Psychology (New York: The Dryden Press, 1950), pp. 213-14.

played an important part in the hiring and upgrading processes.¹

The San Francisco employers interviewed in the present study were apparently not alone in having among them some who have relied in part on subjective criteria and assumptions about groups for guidance in employment decisions. A 1954 nationwide study of private industry's manpower programs and policies, conducted by the Industrial Relations Research Association, reported on personnel practices in many firms. Some of the findings of this study seem applicable to a number of San Francisco employers. In many companies the hiring officer's selections were found to be based on biased personal judgments, on stereotypes, and on hearsay, rather than on objective determinations. Instead of specific evidence relating to performance ability, many employers were inclined to fall back on certain assumptions as to character or personality traits which they associated with family status, residence, or ethnic, racial, or religious identity.²

With specific reference to San Francisco Bay Area employers, Malm writes:

In the hiring process...job specifications are often determined by informal estimates based on the employer's "experience," and this is apparent also from comments on the qualifications considered by employers in selection. Modern personnel practices, including job analysis and validated interviewing and testing procedures, have been adopted fruitfully by some firms, but it is evident that many of the factors influencing selection and placement are based on haphazard judgments or guesswork rather than on systematic analysis of job requirements.

... However, the importance of certain "social factors" in selection and placement (sex, age, and race) seems to be based more often on strongly stereotyped ideas concerning particular groups in our society than on objective measurements or predictions concerning individual job applicants. Furthermore, many hiring standards are not fixed, but change with market conditions.³

¹A number of union officials also expressed stereotyped views of minority workers. Chapter V includes reference to these views.

²Manpower in the United States: Problems and Policies (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), p. 40.

³Malm, "Hiring Procedures and Selection Standards in the San Francisco Bay Area," op. cit., pp. 234-36.

In the present study it was found that 31, or slightly under one-third, of the employer respondents referred to physical, mental, or social traits, which they imputed generally to Negroes and/or Orientals, as the factors which disqualified persons of one or both groups for certain jobs. These respondents each made at least one statement of this nature; some made several. For the most part these statements appeared to be based on stereotyped conceptions rather than actual experience with a number of members of the given racial groups.¹ In some instances no minority-group persons had been employed in the job categories under discussion, while in other cases the respondent's racial generalization was based on a single experience with an individual of the given group. Common to these responses was the tendency to lump together all persons identified racially with a particular group and to treat them as virtually identical, assuming each to have certain uniform, attributed traits. Among these respondents were some who at another point in the interview emphasized the differences of personality and prejudice as between various of their department heads or supervisors, yet who manifested no recognition of the possibility that individual Negro San Franciscan "A" might be a quite different person from individual Negro San Franciscan "B".

Following are illustrative statements from the respondents who cited attributed physical, mental, or social characteristics as discussed above to explain the absence of one group or another from one or more job categories:

A respondent in nondurable manufacturing said that he did not hire Negroes for clerical work because "they are not orderly and do not have an organized mind." This respondent did not indicate having had experience with such workers.

A service industry executive commented: "The minority workers are not intelligent enough to hold higher jobs such as managerial."

An employer in durable manufacturing stated: "Negroes and Orientals are not fitted for professional and sales work."

¹In any event, such use of racial criteria in hiring, even when based on experience, is a departure from employment on the basis of individual merit.

A service industry respondent said: "Negroes and Orientals are not put on in executive training positions because we don't expect them to be and they don't expect to get to be top management. Negroes and Orientals don't try for management."

A spokesman in finance and insurance gave this view: "Each man taken on is looked at as potential management personnel. Chinese men won't get into the management picture. They have no management potential."

As reported earlier in another connection, one respondent in insurance said that Negroes would be ineligible for many sales and clerical jobs because they would not be able to pass the physical examination, especially with regard to venereal disease.

A building and construction employer stated that no Orientals were hired for skilled labor because "they are too small and not physically equal."

An executive in nondurable manufacturing explained his firm's nonemployment of Negroes in upper supervisory positions as follows: "They are not interested in working up because of the grief and responsibility involved. They don't want responsibility. They may want to get to be foremen but aren't interested enough to work higher up."

Other respondents also attributed to Negroes and Orientals a low level of aspiration: "They go just so far and don't go any further." "They're satisfied to stay in their present job and don't set their sights on jobs with a supervisory function." "They're not interested in our type of work."

Some executives expressed judgments that seemed to rule out nonwhites for certain types of positions: "They don't fit into the management picture." "They are not sales types." "They lack the personality and appearance." One respondent referred adversely to the "obvious Jewish characteristics" of some applicants, defining these characteristics as overly ambitious and aggressive; while others regarded Oriental men as insufficiently aggressive for supervisory or managerial functions; and still others (in a retail trade in which entry by very small, independent operators is possible) said they did not hire Oriental men because of their ambition to learn the business and open their own stores.¹

It would seem that these characteristics believed by some respondents to attach to all or most Negroes and/or Orientals, and, in a few cases, to Jews, are predominantly social, as distinguished from physical or mental capacities.

¹See p. 78 above.

Slightly more than one-fourth of the respondents cited social traits of nonwhites as a reason for not hiring, as compared with only 6 per cent who referred to physical or mental factors. Regarding social characteristics, there appeared to be consensus among some employers that nonwhites lacked motivation for advancement to higher supervisory positions, yet it would be extremely difficult, in analyzing these responses, to differentiate between those which were based on inference from reasonably ample experience and those which reflected highly subjective assumptions or generalizations stemming from isolated cases. Are all nonwhite workers lacking the ambition to work their way up the company's promotion ladders, or were some of the respondents who suggested this actually revealing their own judgment that a nonwhite per se was not acceptable at the higher levels? Is there in fact a lower level of aspiration among nonwhite employees than others? And if so, in what ways are the origins the same and in what ways different for Negroes and Orientals, respectively? These are questions suggested but not answered by our data in the present study.

At least two points do seem fairly clear. First, some of the above remarks by employers on social characteristics appeared to have a basis, however slender, either in their own experience or in that of other firms in the given industry. Second, those of the foregoing comments which did constitute opinions or judgments about particular ethnic groups were referring not to some members of such groups but to all, as far as employment prospects were concerned. One further example illustrates both points:

A respondent in nondurable manufacturing said he would not hire Negro women as clerical workers because he once had one and discharged her because she was "too slow."

Assuming that this former Negro clerical employee was indeed incompetent and therefore properly discharged, the inference that all future applicants appearing to be Negroes would be similarly lacking is a non sequitur. Yet this kind of reasoning was exhibited by a number of respondents cited above. There was, moreover, no indication that the same inference had been drawn in cases involving incompetence on the part of nonminority women. This process must be designated as stereotyping of individuals of the minority groups by the employers.

There were also some instances in which respondents claimed, in substance, that customers or nonminority employees held stereotyped views about

nonwhites and that this made their employment impossible or extremely unwise. Again, among these cases it was not possible to ascertain whether the respondent himself shared these fixed conceptions concerning an entire ethnic group, or was entirely free of them. Often the respondent specifically disclaimed such views, attributing them to individual or business customers.

Several employers, for example, referred to conceptions, which they believed their customers held, concerning the cleanliness of Negro workers. This was mentioned most frequently where personal services or handling of food was involved, and included occupations such as delivery of products to retail stores or to homes. One respondent, in a dairy, said that his firm did not have any Negro drivers, for two main reasons: (a) the union would not admit them for this job, and (b) the customers would not regard a Negro driver as "sanitary." The information was offered, however, that the same firm does employ Negro drivers in another major California city; asked for an explanation of the reasons for the difference in policy, the respondent said that the other city has a larger and more concentrated Negro population, and that the Negro drivers serve this population. The respondent did not refer to the situation in his industry in a third major city in this State, where the union has taken an active role in integrating Negro drivers and where they are employed in such capacities by various firms. The assumption that white customers would object to Negro drivers as "unsanitary" has apparently not materialized in practice where both employer and union adopted a strong merit and integration policy.

It is interesting to note that neither this latter employer nor any of several others of similar views on the acceptability of Negroes as food-handlers made any reference to the widespread and traditional functions of this nature assigned or even reserved to Negroes in many hotels, restaurants, clubs, and homes in the South. Nor was there mention of the long-established role of Negro chefs and waiters in railroad dining cars.

This concludes the account of reasons given by employers for not having nonwhites in one or more job categories. The section following covers the evaluations by employers of their experience with such minority workers in those cases and categories where they were employed.

6. Employers' Evaluation of Minority-Worker Performance and Integration in the Work Force

a. Minority-worker performance. -- Each management spokesman interviewed whose firm employed persons of one or more minority groups was asked how those

workers compared with other employees in similar jobs. The respondent was then asked to indicate, for workers of each minority group present in the firm, whether they were "just as satisfactory," "less satisfactory," or "more satisfactory" than his nonminority employees.

The response to the latter question may be summarized as follows: Large proportions either did not answer or said they did not know the answer, while an even larger number -- with minor exceptions, practically all of the other respondents -- reported their minority workers "just as satisfactory" as other employees. Judging workers of the respective minority groups "just as satisfactory" were 57 with reference to Negro; 65, Chinese; 58, Japanese; 54 each, Filipino and Latin American; and 46, Jewish. Not answering or responding "don't know," according to each minority group, were 38 referring to Negro workers; 25, Chinese; 33, Japanese; 40, Filipino; 42, Latin American; and 53, Jewish employees.

Only 3 respondents rated their employees of any of these groups as "less satisfactory" than others: 1 said this of Chinese, and 2 of Latin American; none made this judgment concerning Negro, Japanese, Filipino, or Jewish workers. Found "more satisfactory" than nonminority workers were: Chinese and Japanese, each according to 9 respondents; Negro, according to 7; Filipino, 6; Latin American, 2; and Jewish, 1. Two of the above employers differentiated in their ratings between Negro men and women, judging the former equally satisfactory and the latter more satisfactory.¹

Respondents' comments on this general question as to comparability of minority and other workers' performance included the following:

The minorities tend to work harder because many avenues are not open to them as to others.

Sometimes better, sometimes worse. . . The Orientals are almost always college graduates.

Very competent folks. Sharp as a tack.

One Filipino clerical worker is a dandy.

Negroes are more willing to learn, as are Orientals.

Negroes are not emotionally or educationally as developed; they're more temperamental.

¹This makes the total number of instances in which respondents reported on Negroes 102 rather than 100.

Very pleased. [Minority does_] better work, wants to learn.

A good Oriental is tops, believe me.

...hard to compare. In some instances superior. A fine group of workers.

Minority workers are generally better. . . Filipinos are loyal, adaptable, honest to a fault. Negroes are not surly or childlike.

More likely to be steady -- don't drift from job to job as others are likely to do.

Negro and Oriental women are more satisfactory -- very stable.

The Negro girls are very stable employees. The Filipino man is the highest paid employee in the chain and is in charge of the commissary -- very smart and intelligent.

In tough job will stay longer...

They compare very favorably -- have to or don't stay.

When new just don't have the same qualifications. Slower grasping...

Occasionally a mature Latin American is overqualified [compared to others holding the same job_].

Negroes and Jews are handicapped, therefore work extra to do a good job.

One [minority worker_] is better -- more accurate.

One of the remarks most frequently made in this section of the interview consisted of favorable testimony as to the hard work, reliability, and stability of nonwhite workers generally. These conclusions, based on actual employment of members of the groups concerned, would seem to clash with rather widely held stereotypes of such groups, and with many employer views of this nature as reported in Section 5 above.

Finally, despite these predominantly favorable comments on minority workers, it is not possible to infer on these grounds that the employers making the statements were in fact consistently practicing merit employment. Some of the most enthusiastic testimony just cited came from firms which -- as confirmed

in other portions of this study -- continued to limit their highly-praised nonwhite workers to certain jobs only, denying them, for example, public-contact or supervisory positions.

b. Integration in the work force -- Each executive interviewed who stated that his firm had a definite policy of merit employment or whose other answers appeared to indicate such practice was asked what the firm's experience had been with this policy. The interviewer asked whether "any problems" had been encountered, then, after noting the reply to this general question, requested the respondent to indicate which of the following statements applied to his firm's experience:

- (1) Difficulties none or negligible_____
- (2) Some problems but surmountable_____
- (3) Serious unfavorable results_____

Of the 74 firms which reported having merit employment policy or practice, 11 did not comment on this question. Of the 63 who did answer, 62 indicated "difficulties none or negligible" and 1 (in finance) reported "some problems but surmountable." Thus those reporting no difficulties comprised 62 per cent of all respondents, 84 per cent of the firms claiming merit policy or practice, and 98 per cent of those answering this question. None reported "serious unfavorable results."

The 62 employers reporting no or negligible difficulties under their merit policy were distributed by industry as follows:

Nondurable manufacturing	16
Public utilities, transportation, communications	11
Food processing and distribution	8
Retail trade	8
Durable manufacturing	6
Finance and insurance	6
Service	4
Building and construction	3

Of the 11 not answering this question, 1 was in nondurable manufacturing; 1 in building and construction; 4 in public utilities, transportation, and communications; 1 in food processing and distribution; 3 in retail trade; and 1 in finance and insurance.

Following are responses illustrative of the views of employers who reported no or negligible difficulties in employee integration:

Absolutely no kick after the first few days when the first Orientals came to work. (Retail trade)

The policy has worked out fine. We just work on the few individuals who do resist or it might boomerang on you. (Insurance)

There originally was some trouble but not in recent years. (Communications)

Some people wait for a Negro salesman. (Retail trade)

In a general way our experience has been very favorable. No nonwhite worker has had time to work up to the executive level yet. Our obligation is to make jobs. We can't fight local customs and work at it on a continuing basis. This has been a major topic at a meeting. (Retail trade)

Experience has been good. Maybe we've been lucky or more selective, but it is good. (Durable manufacturing)

Colored girls were brought in by a white friend who is an employee. No problems. (Nondurable manufacturing)

We think it's just fine; there are no problems at all, and everybody visits and mingles and is one of the crowd. This applies also at the company's social functions attended by the wives of the supervisors who are Orientals. (Building and construction)

Very favorable experience. (Service)

Entirely satisfactory. An isolated case can affect the situation. (Nondurable manufacturing)

It has worked out beautifully. (Retail trade)

There have not been any more difficulties with nonwhites than with whites, sometimes less difficulty with the nonwhites. (Nondurable manufacturing)

Our only experience with minority workers has been with Mexicans, and there have been no difficulties whatever. We have a nondiscriminatory policy, but have had no experience with nonwhites because the unions with which we deal in the metal trades have not referred any Negroes or Orientals. We would certainly employ them on merit. (Durable manufacturing)

Our Oriental workers walk down the street arm in arm with the others. (Nondurable manufacturing)

Interpretation of these quite favorable responses is fraught with at least two dangers: first, that some may have been biased in the direction of overstatement by spokesmen who wished to back up their just-issued assertion of merit policy or to create an impression of more thoroughgoing nondiscriminatory practice than actually obtained; or, secondly, that in some cases the stated absence of employee integration problems may have been based on the fact that few or no nonwhites had been hired. An apparent example of the latter was provided by one respondent who reported "no problems," but within a total work force of almost 400 had no Orientals in any capacity and only 2 Negroes (both male and in semiskilled jobs). This respondent explained that his clerical workers were women who would object to having nonwhite women in the same office, therefore no nonwhites were so employed.

It is probably valid, however, to conclude that in San Francisco, as elsewhere, those employers who have initiated merit employment practice have experienced little or no difficulty. Practically none of the employers answering this question mentioned any of the adverse consequences typically anticipated by others in management who said they could not afford to take the "risk." To the contrary, virtually all of those answering this question reported (a) satisfaction with their nonwhite employees and (b) almost none of the feared resistances by others. The reports suggest that these fears are either without foundation or relate to problems which are rather easily surmountable. The conclusion seems warranted that a number of San Francisco firms in various industries have employed some minority workers in at least certain job categories still regarded by other employers as too "risky" or "sensitive" for such personnel. And although the extent of work-force integration is questionable in some cases, it seems clear that such integration as has been attempted has been accomplished with only minor adjustment problems and with general satisfaction to management.

7. Preemployment Application Forms Used by Employers

Recurrent controversy over whether San Francisco should enact a municipal fair employment ordinance has generated considerable interest on the part of employer associations in the matter of potentially discriminatory questions on preemployment application forms. Strongly opposed to any such ordinance, these associations have contended that purely "voluntary" efforts are adequate means of eliminating employment discrimination. The first of sev-

eral recommendations made formally to private employers by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in early 1950, in lieu of approving a pending FEPC ordinance, was the deletion of all racial, religious, or ethnic identification from job application forms. This became a primary point in the ensuing "voluntary" fair employment practices advocated by the employer associations, and claimed modification of such forms was advanced by the associations (again, in the course of debate over a proposed FEPC ordinance) as evidence of merit employment.

Our general conclusion on the basis of the present inquiry is that there is no necessary connection between the presence or absence of these potentially discriminatory questions on application forms and the presence or absence of actual merit employment practice in a given firm.

Specifically, information gained from the employers interviewed and other sources in the placement field reveals that:

1. A substantial proportion of the preemployment forms of employers who furnished copies of them to the interviewer contained questions relating to race, religion, or national ancestry.

2. Some employers who did not furnish copies of their forms but who reported that none of the questions in point appeared on their forms were found in fact to be using such questions or otherwise recording notes as to the ethnic identity of applicants.

3. Some employers who have -- or claimed to have -- deleted all such potentially discriminatory questions from their application forms were among those who admittedly engaged in certain restrictive hiring or upgrading practices.

The 100 employers interviewed were asked for copies of their employment application blanks, with the assurance that the name of the firm and other identifying data could be eliminated as an extra guarantee of anonymity. Two respondents said they did not use such forms, 41 gave our interviewer a copy of the form, and 57 employers said they used an application form but would not submit a copy. These 57 respondents were then asked if any items were included in their forms concerning race, color, religion, or national origin ("nationality," "ancestry," "ancestry of parents," birthplace, birthplace of parents, etc.). Twelve of the 57 did not answer this question; all of the

remaining 45 employers who did answer said that no items whatever were included touching race, color, religion, or national origin.

Although it was not possible to ascertain accurately how many of these 45 employers did in fact use such potentially discriminatory questions, there was reason to believe that a number did so. For example, a large firm in non-durable manufacturing (which has contracts with the Federal Government and is therefore presumably bound by the nondiscriminatory provisions of those contracts) reported that none of these questions was included. However, a copy of this firm's application form which we obtained independently showed that among the questions asked were: "Ancestry of father, ancestry of mother; birthplace." Another firm, a major financial institution, also said that none of these questionable items were included, but a copy of its application form which came into our hands contained these questions: "Birthplace; Parents Nationality, Father___ Mother___." In still another firm, in retail trade, the respondent would not provide a copy of the application and said none of the items were on the form. Asked, as were all respondents who said that none of these questions were included, whether the personnel interviewer made any note or record on the applicant's card regarding his race, religion, or national origin, the response was that no notation or record of any kind was made on these points. But it was learned from a nonexecutive informant in this company that the practice was to make a notation in code on the card if the applicant were a Negro.

It was not possible to ascertain what proportion of the 12 employers who neither provided a copy of their form nor answered any questions about it included potentially discriminatory items in their application blanks. Any employer who did not include such items would undoubtedly have little reason to withhold information about a practice which has been recommended by his own employer associations as an indication of merit employment, and is sanctioned by public opinion and the government. Therefore it is probable that a number of these 12 firms do ask questions about race, religion, or national origin.

Of the 41 employers who submitted copies of their application forms, 25 (61 per cent) included some questions pertaining to national origin, race, or religion. Twenty of these firms asked about national origin, 3 about religion, 1 about race, and in 1 it was optional with the department head to ask about any of these three items.

Sixteen, or 39 per cent of the 41 employers who provided copies of their

forms, did not include any of these potentially discriminatory items. Four of the application forms, when requesting information about clubs and social activities, specifically asked that the applicant omit any data which might indicate race, religion, or national origin. Such a specification seems to be quite consistent with merit employment.

Some examples of the items in the 20 application blanks with questions pertaining to national origin were these: birthplace, father's birthplace, mother's birthplace, "Nationality or Lineage (English, Scotch, Irish, Russian, Italian, etc.)," "Years father in U.S."

One of the respondents at the State Department of Employment reported that birthplace is requested by some employers not only as an indication of national origin, but also as a clue to racial or ethnic identification along with other information, such as the name and the home address. An address in the Fillmore District and a birthplace listed as a Southern state were said to be a "tip-off" that an applicant is Negro, even before he has been seen in a face-to-face interview. For Orientals, birthplace, name, and a home address in a heavily nonwhite district such as in or near Chinatown or the Fillmore District afforded clues to their ethnic identification even prior to an interview. A name which sounds as if it might be Jewish or which appears to have been Anglicized, is, along with the applicant's or his parents' birthplace, sometimes used to identify him as Jewish. In such instances, having been born in New York City or in an Eastern European country has sometimes been regarded as an indication of Jewish identification. For Latin Americans, a birthplace listed as Mexico or a Southwestern state, along with a Spanish surname and ability to speak Spanish, have sometimes been used for purposes of ethnic identification.

The firm which included the item of race in its application form is in the construction field, employs many professional and semiprofessional persons, and because of contracts with the Federal Government is subject to the nondiscriminatory requirements of those contracts.

Of the three firms which asked about religion, two included questions about the church to which the applicant belonged, and the third called for "Religious holidays observed if any." One company in the communications field, which has its head office in a state with FEPC and determines its employment policy for San Francisco in the local office, included in its application blank place of birth and church affiliation. This company furnishes copies of the

blank to its customers for use in their own firms. Thus the application blank with these items is circulated to other employers as well as being used within the respondent's own firm.

With regard to distribution of these responses by industry, the fields where questions pertaining to national origin were most commonly asked were retail trade and nondurable manufacturing. The industries in which there was one mention each regarding religion were finance, communications, and building and construction. The one respondent who said that each department head had the option of asking such questions was in a service industry engaged in maintenance work.

If items regarding race, religion, or national origin were not on the application blank, or if the respondent so claimed, he was asked whether any data on these items were noted by the interviewer on the applicant's record, either as a result of questioning, observation, assumptions regarding his name, or asking about religious holidays. Only two respondents, both in nondurable manufacturing, said they made any note of such matters. One said the applicant's appearance and name were the basis for identification. The second said that ordinarily no note was made, "only when a department is heavily laden" with members of a particular group.

Reference was made previously to an employer in retail trade who said no such notation was made but concerning whom we ascertained from another source that in fact a coded entry on race was made on the card of each Negro applicant. It was not possible to ascertain how many other cases of this sort there might be. Several factors, however, suggest that a number of the respondents (in addition to the 12 who made no answer to this question) may have failed to report their actual use of potentially discriminatory notations on application forms. First, there was the unwillingness of 45 respondents who claimed their forms were free of such references to provide to our interviewer even nonidentifiable copies of those forms. Second, there is the fact that of the 41 respondents who did furnish such copies, 25 were found to contain questions pertaining to national ancestry, religion, or race. If such questions were present in 61 per cent of the forms voluntarily provided, it would seem reasonable to infer that at least a substantial proportion of the forms which were withheld called for similar information. Third, the official resolution of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco which was passed in early 1950 in lieu of a fair employment ordinance requested elimination of such references from these forms. All or most of the respondent firms

were well aware of this action. Any who had not complied with this resolution would have been understandably reluctant to give us a copy of their form. Finally, the major employer associations had strongly urged member firms to modify their application forms as one means of supporting the associations' public argument that merit employment could be achieved generally in the city without governmental action. In practical terms, any revelations of noncompliance with the Supervisors' resolution on this relatively simple point would weaken the associations' argument against legislation. Conversely, that position would be strengthened if independent evidence of widespread compliance were produced. In this context the failure of 57 per cent of the respondents in our sample to submit concrete evidence on this score, plus the findings as to those who did provide their forms, inescapably raise some doubt as to the extent to which these potentially restrictive references have actually been abandoned by major San Francisco employers.

In any event, it should be recognized that deletion of potentially discriminatory questions from printed job application forms is not necessarily accompanied by a merit policy in hiring and upgrading. Whereas most companies which are consistently following a merit policy will clear their pre-employment forms of questions yielding ethnic identification, the converse does not follow, that all who modify their forms are thereby following such a policy.

A few hypothetical cases will illustrate the range of possible variations among companies with respect to the relationship between formal ethnic identification in application papers and actual hiring practices. Firm A's application form may request "nationality" or "race" although merit employment is consistently practiced. Firm B may ask no such questions verbally or in writing, yet its employment interviewers may be instructed to enter on the form discreet code designations signifying nonwhite, inferred or presumed religious identification, or foreign birthplace of one or both parents -- this information to be used in screening out such applicants or placing them at the bottom of the list, to be called only in case of severe labor shortage. In Firm C there may be no query of this sort in the application form used by the central personnel office, but one department may ask these questions for discriminatory purposes, while another does not ask them and hires entirely according to individual merit. Firm D may have eliminated references to race or religion when the application form was last reprinted, but may have failed to delete the "nationality" inquiry and to issue new instructions to front-desk personnel in

the employment office, with the result that some of these individuals now interpret the "nationality" blank on the form as calling for such diverse entries as "Negro," "Jewish," "Irish," or "Italian."

Thus many kinds and degrees of informal racial or religious rejection are possible without physical or formal evidence of these acts. In fact, where there is no fair employment law the absence of such data from employment records may tend in some cases more to conceal than to inhibit restrictive hiring practices. A number of respondents referred to this lack of ethnic identification on company personnel records as a reason for not having data about numbers and distribution of minority workers. Yet it will be recalled that the interviewer, in such cases, requested the firm to make a simple observational count of its nonwhite employees or permit him to do so and that a number of respondents turned down this request. It must be inferred that in most such instances the respondent did not wish to reveal information which he felt would imply restrictive practices.

It is seen, in any case, that the exclusion of printed references to race, religion, or ancestry from application forms does not in itself constitute evidence (a) that no such identification of applicants occurs in the perceptions, memories, or records of hiring officers, or (b) that merit employment is practiced.

The above observations are borne out by information gained from other sources in the study -- including private employment agencies, college placement offices, and nonexecutive respondents -- reported in succeeding chapters of this volume. Placement office managers, for example, reported (a) that restrictive specifications in job orders are seldom put on paper, but are usually received from employer clients orally over the telephone or in face-to-face contact, and (b) that many of these placement agencies consider it necessary, in order to serve employers according to their demands, to maintain some form of ethnic identification of applicants in their own records.

The preemployment application form is essentially an instrument of convenience and economy for the employer. It does not determine nor necessarily reflect his policy, especially with regard to such a "sensitive" and controversial question as merit employment. The real determinants and dynamics of hiring practice affecting minority-group persons lie elsewhere in the policy-making and executive processes of the particular company. It would seem, accordingly, that in San Francisco largely unwarranted attention has been focused on the contents of these forms. It is a naive non sequitur to infer

nondiscriminatory employment practice from a personnel form simply because it appears to be silent with respect to minority identification.

8. Experience with the President's Committee on Government Contracts

The twelfth of 20 questions in the interviews of the employers was:

"What experience, if any, has your firm had with the President's Committee on Government Contracts? Any problems?"

The question should have included a direct inquiry as to whether the firm actually held a contract with the Federal Government, thereby subjecting it to the employment nondiscrimination requirements of such contracts. It is possible that, as phrased, the query was not interpreted in this way by some respondents -- who might have construed it to refer only to direct contact with or policing by the President's Committee. The consequence of this interpretation would have been for some whose firms were actually engaged in such contracts to answer in the negative, since the President's Committee is not itself a contracting agency, is extremely limited in scope by a small staff, and therefore could not have active, direct contact with any significant proportion of the total group of Government contractors. Even so, 26 respondents answered this question in a fashion clearly indicating that they held such contracts. This is a minimum and understated figure; the actual number of contractors among our sample is undoubtedly somewhat larger.

Tables 7-26 in Section 2 of this chapter,¹ which give the occupational distributions of minority workers in individual firms by industry, indicate the 26 employers who reported that they held Federal contracts.

The President's Committee on Government Contracts was established in August, 1953, and charged with responsibility for promotion of compliance by contractors with the employment nondiscrimination requirements of Government contracts which have been standard in such contracts for many years. The present nondiscrimination clause reads as follows:

In connection with the performance of work under this contract, the contractor agrees not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, religion, color, or national origin. The aforesaid provision shall include, but not be limited to, the following: employment, upgrading, demotion, or transfer; recruitment or recruitment ad-

¹See pp. 38-39, 41, 42, 44-46, 48-49, 51, 52, 55, 56, 58-59, 61, 63, 64, 65, 68-69, 71, 72, 73, 75.

vertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post hereafter in conspicuous places, available for employees and applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of the nondiscrimination clause.

The contractor further agrees to insert the foregoing provision in all subcontracts hereunder, except subcontracts for standard commercial supplies or raw materials.¹

The Committee's very small staff could not possibly police the vast numbers of Federal contracts -- in excess of six million -- let each year.

... [Its] activities have been designed to:

1. Assist the contracting agencies in making more effective their enforcement of the nondiscrimination clause;
2. Persuade contractors to give maximum cooperation in ending discrimination in employment;
3. Cooperate with other organizations having similar objectives; and,
4. Inform the public of the economic necessity to extend Equal Job Opportunity throughout American business and industry.²

The Committee also receives and brings about investigation of complaints of discrimination against contracting firms.

Our interviews with the 100 San Francisco employers were conducted at a time (November, 1955 through February, 1956) when the President's Committee had been established for more than two years. Widespread publicity had attended its formation, including special statements by the President and Vice-President and announcement of a distinguished roster of "public" as well as Federal departmental membership. There followed a special letter from Vice-President Nixon, Chairman of the Committee, to officers and directors of the nation's "largest industries," enclosing copies of "Equal Job Opportunity Is

¹"Mr. Executive . . . Seven Questions will help you determine whether you are complying fully with the nondiscrimination clause in government contracts," The President's Committee on Government Contracts, Washington, D.C., 1956.

²Third Annual Report on Equal Job Opportunity, 1955-56, The President's Committee on Government Contracts, Washington, D.C., 1956, p. vii.

Good Business," the Committee's first main brochure. The brochure was subsequently distributed to 65,000 companies on the invitation-to-bid list of the General Services Administration. This and other literature were disseminated, mainly among employers, in large quantities. A poster which all contractors are required to post within their establishments was widely distributed. In addition, during this period prior to November, 1955, Executive Director Jacob Seidenberg of the Committee visited San Francisco, conferring with Federal procurement officers and with several business association leaders. Subsequently, according to the Committee's Second Annual Report, the Federated Employers of this city "undertook to mail to its membership a full and detailed explanation of the national program." And in October, 1955 two leading San Francisco business executives participated in a special White House conference with presidents or board chairmen of over 50 major companies which employ approximately 2,500,000 people. This and other Committee activities received general press coverage.

Apart from the fact that a nondiscrimination clause had been standard in Federal contracts for more than a decade, the foregoing informational activities were among those to which many if not most Federal contracting firms in San Francisco had been exposed prior to our interviews of the 100 employers. Yet our interviewer reported that he repeatedly encountered among the respondents a seeming lack of acquaintance with the purpose and program of the President's Committee. A companion reaction by some of the executives interviewed was one of considerable caution and resistance to discussing the subject; this reaction, in fact, was so strong in some of the earlier interviews, in which the interviewer had endeavored to explain the policy of the President's Committee, that he decided against doing this in the great majority of instances rather than jeopardize the fruitfulness of the remainder of the interview. This reaction suggests that perhaps -- among those respondents whose firms held Federal contracts -- the apparent lack of knowledge about the President's Committee actually reflected in some a wariness, induced by the dual recognition that (a) important contracts were at stake, and that future contracts could be denied to firms which followed restrictive hiring practices, and (b) already in the interview there had been some potentially damaging admissions of such practices. Despite our assurances of anonymity to each firm, it is likely that at this point in the interview some of the employer spokesmen became worried about what they had already revealed and correspondingly less responsive in the con-

cluding portion of the questioning.

It was true in any event that many of the firms which held Government contracts actually acknowledged in one way or another some degree of restrictive practice. All 26 of the employers with such contracts were among those who either made no claim of having a definite merit employment policy, gave no indication of any program of implementation of their claimed policy, or gave reasons for not hiring nonwhite persons in one or more categories. Those who gave reasons for not hiring¹ numbered 21, or 80.8 per cent, of the contracting firms; offering these reasons was in many cases tantamount to admission of certain restrictive practices. Those among the 26 who either did not claim a definite merit policy or who did not report implementation² also, coincidentally, numbered 21. Sixteen of the 26 respondents both made no claim of merit policy or of specific implementation and gave reasons for not hiring.

It is perhaps useful to compare these practices with the standards of compliance set by the President's Committee. The Committee stresses the importance of company-wide communication and implementation of policy. If the policy has been effectively transmitted to those who must carry it out and any processes in violation of it have been eliminated, the Committee does not require it -- but they recommend that the policy be a formal, written statement.³ It is considered essential, however, that the policy be firmly and clearly established at the top level of management, and so understood throughout the firm.

The President's Committee offers further guidance to employers on these points in the brochure, "Mr. Executive...Seven Questions..." These questions, we believe, comprise an authoritative⁴ and thorough definition of what is involved in realistic and purposeful administration of a merit employment policy -- a definition which is, of course, adaptable generally to employers irrespective of their relationship to Government contracts. The "seven questions" are:

¹See section 4, pp. 82-104, above.

²See p. 34, above.

³"A Manual for the Guidance of Personnel Engaged in Obtaining Compliance with the National Equal Job Opportunity Program," The President's Committee on Government Contracts, Washington, D.C., March, 1956, p.9.

⁴These principles derive from public policy laid down generally by Congress with regard to Federal contracts. To our knowledge no substantial criticism of these criteria has been voiced by business or labor.

1. Does our company have a clear nondiscrimination policy? Are all the people who have any responsibility for employment familiar with it? Do all our employees know that management expects that minority-group workers will be considered for any position in the work force for which they are qualified? (Supervisors who do not fully understand the wishes of management in this matter often assume that minority-group workers are not wanted in skilled, semi-skilled, clerical, and supervisory positions.)¹

2. Are recruitment systems used by our company open to all people regardless of race or religion or national origin? Have the trade schools or business schools which we use referred minority workers in the past? Do employment agencies which we frequently use refer minority-group workers for all types of jobs? (If they do not, it may be that they have a discriminatory policy themselves, or they may not be aware of the fact that you will accept employees on their merit. In either case, discrimination affects employment opportunity in your company, even though you have no direct control over the situation. Sometimes it is helpful to talk over problems of recruitment with the minority-group specialists of State employment services or a member of a reputable private organization concerned with this problem who may be able to advise you how to eliminate this kind of discrimination.)

3. Are the on-the-job training and apprenticeship opportunities afforded by our factory open to all workers? Are efforts made to see that members of all groups get an opportunity to be selected for training? (Unless the selection of candidates for training and apprenticeship is made without regard to race, religion, or national origin, it is frequently very difficult for minority-group workers to get these opportunities leading to upgrading.)

4. Are minority-group workers employed in our plant only in menial types of employment or clustered in particular departments? (If this is the case, it may be that somewhere in the employment process of your company there is someone who thinks this is the way minority manpower should be utilized. This is discrimination. So is the establishment of different lines of promotion for various types of work which, if set up on a racial basis, make it impossible for a minority worker hired into one work category to become employed at more skilled types of operations.)

5. Do any of the labor unions with which our company has contracts refuse to admit minority workers for membership? (If this is the case, management has a responsibility to

¹The parenthetical statement which follows each enumerated paragraph is also part of the quotation. In the brochure, these parenthetical statements were actually italicized.

make its nondiscrimination policy clear to union officials. It should be noted that the equal job opportunity program has the full support of leaders of the major labor unions, and national representatives of the unions frequently can be of assistance in this kind of situation.)

6. Are the nondiscrimination posters properly posted, as required by the nondiscrimination clause of Government contracts? Is the nondiscrimination clause included in our subcontracts under Government prime contracts?

7. Are minority-group workers actually employed in most of the various types of jobs in our plant? (In some instances, if they are not, there may be good reason for it. For example, there may not be many minority-group workers in your area or yours may be a plant with very little turnover in the work force. However, if there are no minority-group workers employed in skilled work or if all minority workers are found in only the unskilled categories, careful investigation is warranted to determine whether someone is making a discriminatory policy for your company because he thinks this is what management desires.)

These criteria of merit employment were developed by the President's Committee on the basis of its first two years of activity, and evidently represent the best available thinking of leading businesses which have successfully adopted this policy, of nongovernmental agencies such as the Urban League, which have extensive experience helping industry bring about work-force integration, and of the various local and state fair employment commissions which work on these problems.

Among main conclusions reached by the 55 heads of nationally known companies who attended, at the President's invitation, the 1955 White House Conference referred to earlier, were (1) that the problem of restricted upgrading opportunities, as distinguished from hiring barriers, is a major one; (2) that "the fears of many companies about putting nondiscrimination practices into force, particularly in the South, have not proved to be justified where employers "went straight ahead with the policy, firmly and without equivocation"; and (3) that "in order that a nondiscrimination policy may be effective, it must come from the very top of the organization. . . . if the policy does not come from the top, it gets lost somewhere down the line among the various individuals who are supposed to carry it out."¹

¹Richard M. Nixon, Chairman, President's Committee on Government Contracts, Press Conference, Washington, D.C., October 25, 1955, pp. 1,2. (Mimeographed.)

Again, one recent finding of the Committee in the course of reviewing compliance by Government contractors was:

More progress has been made in establishing Equal Job Opportunity by contractors who have given wide distribution to a written statement of a nondiscrimination policy than by contractors who rely on verbal communication.¹

Placed against these criteria and observations of the President's Committee, it is clear that many of the employment practices described in the preceding portion of this chapter -- whether of Federal contractors or other private employers -- either directly violate or fall short of affirmative implementation of nondiscriminatory policy. Although a large proportion of the employers interviewed in the present study asserted that they had a definite merit policy, the great majority of these acknowledged that the policy was not explicit and was not communicated with clarity and authority throughout the respective firms or to their recruitment channels. Many made tacit admissions of restrictive practice in giving reasons for not having nonwhite workers in one or more job categories. There was much evidence of token employment of minority-group persons and of lack of equal opportunity for upgrading. While there were many references by employers to what they considered racially restrictive union practices, there was virtually no account of efforts on their part to encourage or negotiate for nondiscriminatory dispatching of workers by unions for job openings. We have noted, too, that although questions calling for ethnic identification in preemployment application forms are not a reliable index of actual hiring practice, there was considerable doubt about the extent of progress by San Francisco employers even on this score, despite substantial promotion of form revision by employer associations since early 1950.

While these generalizations apply both to Federal contractors and other firms covered, it will be noted that the contractors within our sample whose practices fell short of the merit standard were found in durable and nondurable manufacturing, public utilities, transportation, communications, wholesale and retail trade, and building and construction. Occupationally, this was true especially of jobs involving public contact -- sales, deliveries to or service in homes or businesses -- and supervisory positions. A number of firms hired few or no Negroes in clerical or in certain skilled capacities.

¹Third Annual Report on Equal Job Opportunity, op. cit., p. 10.

Illustrative examples have been recorded in preceding sections of this chapter, and additional ones follow in the section reporting information gained through management and guidance conferences.

The above findings are extended or confirmed by much that follows in this volume from sources other than employers. Keeping in mind the inescapable bias of this chapter in the direction of minimizing discriminatory practices,¹ it is undoubtedly fair to conclude that in general San Francisco firms contracting with the Federal Government, like others, have not yet gone very far toward affirmative implementation of merit employment as defined by the President's Committee.

9. Employee Recruitment Sources and Channels

We have already suggested something of the importance which the various sources and channels of work-force recruitment may have with regard to equality or inequality of hiring opportunity. Many of the employer spokesmen stressed points such as the failure of placement agencies or unions to refer minority workers when openings occurred, or the absence of independent applications from such persons, among reasons given for few or no minority employees in certain job categories. The President's Committee on Government Contracts, among others, has placed increasing emphasis upon the necessity for companies to take an interest in removing traditional blockages to minority hiring often found within recruitment channels if they wish consistently to observe a policy of merit employment. For such reasons an inquiry concerning actual recruitment channels used by the 100 San Francisco employers seemed both relevant and important.

Each respondent was asked which of the following sources his firm used in recruiting employees:

- (a) Direct hiring by your employment office (initial contact by applicant)
- (b) Private employment agencies
- (c) State Department of Employment
- (d) Newspaper advertisements
- (e) School or college placement bureaus
- (f) Labor unions
- (g) Contacts through your own employees
- (h) Employers' or trade associations
- (i) Social agencies
- (j) Others (specify)

¹See pp. 7-11, 17-18, above.

The respondents then indicated by a 1-2-3 rank order their three most important employee sources. (This question was the fourth in the opening series of general-information questions. Up through this point in the interview there had been no discussion touching on any minority-group implications of employment.)

All but 4 of the respondents answered the first part of the question, 3 of these being in service industry firms and the fourth among the public utilities, transportation, and communications group. Of the 96 who did designate various recruitment sources used, 75 (78.1 per cent of those answering) mentioned private employment agencies; 60 (62.5 per cent) mentioned direct company employment office hiring on initial contact by applicants; 59 (61.4 per cent) indicated the State Department of Employment; 57 (59.4 per cent), newspaper advertisements; 55 (57.3 per cent), labor unions; 52 (54.2 per cent), school or college placement bureaus; and 40 (41.7 per cent), contacts through the firm's own employees. A noticeable break downward then occurs in the frequency with which the remaining recruitment sources were mentioned: 18 (18.8 per cent of those answering) indicated employers' or trade associations; 12, social agencies; and 10, other sources. (See Table 29.)

It will be noted that private employment agencies were clearly the one source used by most employers -- holding a position about 16 percentage points above the next nearest source. Then there is a fairly close grouping of the frequency of mention of the next five sources, ranging from 62.5 per cent for direct company hiring down to 54.2 for school or college placement bureaus. Finally, although a definite break down to 41.7 per cent occurs, for contacts through present employees, this figure is by no means insubstantial.

Private employment agencies also stood at the top in terms of mentions by firms according to industry. In 3 industries (durable manufacturing, building and construction, and service) all respondents answering the question mentioned those agencies as a source. In a fourth (nondurable manufacturing) this was by far the most frequently mentioned source, and in a fifth (retail trade) it tied with direct hiring for the top position. Thus in 5 of the 8 industry divisions private employment agencies were given as a recruitment source by all or by the highest number within each division. In the remaining 3 industry divisions, private agencies were in second place as to frequency of mention.

Direct hiring was mentioned by the greatest number in each of 2 industries (retail trade and public utilities, transportation, and communications), and tied for second place in 3 others. Unions as a labor source were mentioned by all respondents in 2 industries (service and building and construction -- all

TABLE 29. NUMBER OF FIRMS REPORTING EMPLOYEE RECRUITMENT SOURCES, BY INDUSTRY^a

Source	Durable Mfg. N = 7	Nondur. Mfg. N = 29	Bldg. & Constr. N = 4	Retail Trade N = 15	Whs. Trade N = 6	Fin. & Ins. N = 10	Pub. Ut., Trans., & Commun. N = 18	Serv- ice N = 7	Total N = 96	
									Number	Per Cent
Private employment agencies	7	21	3	13	4	8	12	7	75	78.1
Direct hiring	6	15	2	13	4	5	13	2	60	62.5
State Department of Employment	7	14	1	11	5	6	11	4	59	61.4
Newspaper advertisements	4	16	3	10	4	7	10	3	57	59.4
Labor unions	5	15	3	10	5	0	10	7	55	57.3
School or college placement bureaus	6	12	1	11	4	9	9	0	52	54.2
Own employees	3	11	2	6	4	6	7	1	40	41.7
Employers' or trade ass'ns.	2	5	1	1	1	2	5	1	18	18.8
Social agencies	1	4	0	5	0	0	2	0	12	12.5
Other	0	3	0	1	1	0	5	0	10	10.4

^aThree respondents (2 in service industries and 1 in public utilities, transportation, and communications) did not answer the question, and 1 in a service industry replied "Don't know" to all parts of it.

TABLE 30. NUMBER OF FIRMS RANKING EMPLOYEE RECRUITMENT SOURCES 1, 2, OR 3, BY INDUSTRY^a

Source	Durable Mfg. N = 7	Nondurable Mfg. N = 27	Bldg. & Constr. N = 4	Retail Trade N = 15	Whs. Trade N = 6	Fin. & Ins. N = 10	Pub. Ut., Trans., & Commun. N = 16	Serv- ice N = 7	Total N = 92	
									Number	Per Cent
Private employment agencies	4	15	3	8	4	8	7	6	55	59.8
Direct hiring	5	11	2	12	3	5	10	1	49	53.3
Labor unions	4	11	3	3	3	0	7	7	38	41.3
State Department of Employment	7	8	1	6	5	4	4	2	37	40.2
Newspaper advertisements	1	7	1	5	1	5	5	2	27	29.3
School or college placement bureaus	0	4	0	2	0	6	4	0	16	17.4
Own employees	0	5	1	2	2	3	2	1	16	17.4
Other	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	1	5	5.4
Employers' or trade ass'ns.	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	4	4.3
Social agencies	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1.1

^aEight respondents (2 in nondurable manufacturing; 3 in public utilities, transportation, and communications; and 3 in service industries) did not answer this question. Some assigned the same rank to more than one source. Some failed to assign all three ranks.

the firms of which also mentioned private employment agencies), tied for first place in another (wholesale trade), but were in third and fourth place in three other industry divisions.

The second half of this question -- the rating of these labor sources by the respondents as to importance in their respective operations -- was answered by 92 of the 100. In addition to the four firms mentioned above as not answering the question, 2 in nondurable manufacturing and 2 among the public utility, transportation, and communications firms did not answer this part of the question on ranking as to importance.

There resulted the same order of mention of sources, with one exception: labor unions moved up from fifth to third place. Taking those sources which were ranked by respondents as among the three which were most important for them, private employment agencies were so ranked by 55 employers (59.8 per cent of the 92 answering) and direct hiring by 49 (53.3 per cent). Next ranking, 12 percentage points lower, was labor unions, which were rated among the first three by 38 (41.3 per cent) of those responding. The State Department of Employment was immediately behind, with 37 (40.2 per cent); then newspaper advertisements, 27 (29.3 per cent); and, with 16 (17.4 per cent) top-three ratings each, school or college placement bureaus and contacts through present employees. (See Table 30.).

The significance for equal job opportunity of these reports by the employers as to their use of the various recruitment sources will readily be seen. The two sources most frequently mentioned and rated by most respondents among the three most important were private employment agencies and direct hiring by the company employment office; both are entirely subject to the personnel preferences or prohibitions of the employer. This is true also of the phrasing of newspaper advertisements, except that San Francisco newspapers would, in most cases, reject advertisements containing explicit discriminatory specifications. Neither the State Department of Employment nor the school and college placement bureaus seek to impose discriminatory referrals upon employers. This leaves labor unions as the only source among those mentioned frequently by respondents which (a) functions in many cases to provide workers independently of the employer, and (b) in some instances clearly involves discrimination.

We discussed earlier several possible degrees of negative, passive, or affirmative action which the employer may take with respect to the promulgation of merit policy and its implementation. The above material on recruitment channels, considered in relation to earlier sections of this chapter and

to subsequent chapters on placement agencies and unions, would seem to underscore the view that the major responsibility and opportunity for creation and administration of merit employment policy does rest with the employer.

10. Conclusions

The foregoing portions of this chapter, which consist of material from the 100 employer interviews, set forth a number of specific findings and conclusions, which will not be repeated or summarized at this point. We shall proceed, rather, to two additional groups of data gained from employer spokesmen, and then, at the close of the chapter, to the general conclusions based on these sources.

B. Data from Management and Guidance Conferences

Supplementary data on employment practices affecting minority-group persons were obtained by the participant-observer method at three management and guidance conferences held in the San Francisco Bay Area during 1956. These meetings were: (1) a conference of management representatives who devoted one of their sessions to manpower utilization; (2) a regional conference of guidance workers who were addressed by representatives from management, public employment services, and the schools; (3) a conference on community coordination for vocational guidance with participation by representatives from management, labor, schools, and minority and intergroup organizations.

The purpose in augmenting this report with information obtained at those conferences is not to give any systematic account of each event, but rather to provide pertinent illustrative material from employers and other sources. At the conferences representatives from management discussed such subjects as manpower utilization, personnel selection and placement, training programs, and use of community resources. Yet little attention was given to problems of equal employment opportunity, utilization of minority workers, or cooperation with minority and intergroup organizations in recruitment and vocational guidance -- except for questions raised by our research director at some of the sessions. He also interviewed briefly several of the conferees. His report follows.

An industrial psychologist at a Bay Area college, who is familiar with the personnel selection and testing methods used by many employers in the San Francisco area, was among those interviewed at one meeting. According to this psychologist, who has participated in numerous management conferences, the subject of merit employment is one which personnel and management people

do not like to discuss and which many companies choose not to make explicit in their policy. Generally at these conferences, he said, no consideration is given to problems relating to equal employment opportunity and utilization of minority workers. He pointed out that the absence of a clear-cut policy of merit employment in a firm gives discretionary power to the personnel man, the supervisor, or the department head to exercise racial, ethnic, or religious restrictions if he wishes.

This psychologist indicated further that such "informal policy" often results in haphazard and biased decisions by the persons authorized to do the hiring. Management people frequently state that they are looking for the "best qualified person" on an objective basis and sometimes use tests as a guide for selection. However, the screening as to who is given the test is often done on a highly subjective basis. Thus a nonwhite job applicant may not even be given the opportunity to take the test and to show his abilities. While a test may be designed to determine a specific individual's qualifications, the racial or religious stereotypes held by the person giving the test may prevent all persons of a particular group from being considered objectively on their merits. The respondent said that in many firms there is not only decentralization in hiring but also in decisions as to which tests are used and the weight they are given; so that various "social factors," including ethnic biases, may enter into the selection and upgrading of employees, even when tests are used.

At another session of this management conference the subject was manpower utilization. One of the speakers was an economist who made a passing reference to minority workers as a "disadvantaged group in manpower utilization." The other disadvantaged group mentioned was the older worker, whose situation was described in detail. One of the speakers from management, a supervisor of training in a factory which makes communications equipment, said that in training and placing workers it is necessary "to take into account the prejudices, the biases, the social background, and the experiences of the people already in the factory." Asked how these biases were taken into account and what the firm's experience was with nonwhite workers, this supervisor replied that Negroes had not been employed in any capacity in his firm until the past six months because it had been felt that they "lacked the qualifications." Then the company had to expand its production force very quickly and hired many women, mostly high school graduates and preferably with no training, to learn the required semiskilled work. When the

company started hiring Negro women for this production work, management believed that some of their white workers would quit as threatened. However, not one of these workers left his job.

No Negroes in this firm were reported in capacities other than the low-level women's jobs. Our informant gave no indication that management communicated a merit policy to supervisors and workers. He concluded:

You can't ram things down people, but on the other hand, you can't allow prejudice to play an injustice on a racial group. Negroes have been working out satisfactorily, and there has been no problem in the relations among workers. I asked a Negro worker how he was being treated, and he answered that everything was grand.

At another of the conferences, one for guidance workers, representatives from management spoke on the relation between business and industry on the one hand and educational and vocational counseling on the other. Several questions to the speakers elicited information concerning employment opportunities for minority workers. A personnel officer in a public utilities firm said that he believed Negroes could not "meet the standards" required for certain jobs, but were hired for maintenance crews, where they did qualify. No specifics were offered as to the required qualifications which Negroes were said not to be able to meet, so a query was made on this score. This personnel executive replied that he would like to ask the school counselors in the audience "if Negroes were less intelligent in school," because that was his impression. He asked, "Why is it that although Negro applicants have the same opportunity for education as others, they just don't seem to have the same educational qualifications?"

This utility firm representative continued, saying that his firm had some minority employees but that the number was not known because no records were kept on this point. Explaining why nonwhite workers were not employed in certain jobs, he posed a hypothetical experience of a small employer and asked the audience, "If a small company has salesmen, should they hire Negro as well as white salesmen and lose business? In such a decision it is necessary to consider the workers, the customers, and the public, too."

A second speaker, a personnel executive in another public utilities firm, said that he agreed with this point because a company "could not be expected to commit economic suicide." He said that he believed minority-group members should not be too disappointed if they are not accepted for all kinds of jobs. "Some management people," he said, "have stereotypes to justify not hiring some

minority groups -- such as that they are lazy, shiftless, or cannot take responsibility, or the more subtle one that the public won't accept them." He felt that business itself must eliminate existing stereotypes, and he regarded this as an educational process.

Explaining that his own firm's management did not attempt to define what policy he was to follow concerning employment of minority-group members, this personnel officer remarked that his problem was one of having to please the supervisor under whom the individual to be hired would work. If a supervisor stated that he wanted no Negroes, there was compliance with the request. This personnel man said that although he might try to persuade a supervisor to give Negroes a chance, he was often unsuccessful in this effort.

When our research director referred to the President's Committee on Government Contracts, this personnel man said that of course they (the management representatives in the conference panel) have Government contracts, and all agreed that integration was coming but that it was a slow, educational process.

The third speaker, a personnel officer in a large, nondurable manufacturing company, said that his firm had contracts with the Federal Government and must comply with the nondiscrimination provisions of those contracts. He continued:

In principle we all believe in merit employment and integration, but in practice it's a problem. Many people here have come from the South and they have certain attitudes which have to be taken into account . . . Six months ago our company tried to provide common locker facilities for white and Negro workers instead of the separate ones they previously had. Management expected much trouble but nothing happened. Our workers are better on the integration matter than the public is. Therefore the company feels that they can employ Negro workers inside the plant but not in jobs where they meet the public.

Neither this speaker nor any of the others at this meeting indicated awareness or concern as to the conflicts between principle and practice which their statements revealed. They accepted "in principle" the desirability of a merit policy on the part of management and the fact that Government contracts unequivocally call for such practice, but appeared not to regard management as being under any serious injunction to practice merit employment throughout all departments, units, and job categories. Clear

evidence was given as to employment restrictions almost in the same breath with acknowledgment of obligations to the contrary under Federal contracts. Prejudices attributed to nonminority employees or public were cited as explanations for continuing restrictions by the same persons who at other points testified as to unexpected successes in minority hiring and integration.

At the third conference, which was specifically devoted to problems of minority-group youth with reference to vocational guidance and employment opportunity, a representative from a nondurable manufacturing firm discussed the hiring practices of his company and provided an example of a "quota" system in hiring. This employer claimed to be following a merit policy because he employed persons of various groups according to the proportions those groups comprised, respectively, of the total population of the community. He gave no details as to the types of jobs held by Negro and other minority workers. In any event, such quota employment is discriminatory, since it is based not on the individual's particular capacities but on his ethnic group identity.

According to other speakers at this same conference, some vocational counselors in effect help to perpetuate job inequalities by discouraging minority-group members from seeking training in fields that have been barred to them in the past. The consensus at this meeting was that counselors should attempt whenever possible to ignore employment restrictions based on racial or religious stereotypes, and that they were in need of better liaison with business and industry, unions, and minority and intergroup organizations.

It would appear that this informal conference testimony of management spokesmen and of others, such as the industrial psychologist, who were well acquainted with personnel practices, tended to confirm some of the findings suggested by the foregoing sections of this report:

1. That in the eyes of management in this area equal employment opportunity is a "sensitive" subject which receives relatively little discussion, even in conferences on manpower utilization.
2. That some executives still regard members of minority groups in stereotyped terms, and these views are reflected in their employment practices.
3. That typical management fears concerning the consequences of instituting a nonrestrictive hiring policy are groundless or exaggerated.
4. That some personnel officers endeavor to promote nondiscriminatory hiring within their firms but are frequently balked by supervisors who are not required to follow such a policy.

5. That explicit and fully implemented merit employment has by no means become a common practice in private industry here.

C. Findings Relative to Minority Employment, Survey of San Francisco Bay Area Labor Market by Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California

An important study which provided reasonably recent background and supplementary data relevant to our inquiry dealt with the San Francisco Bay Area labor market and was conducted by Dr. F. Theodore Malm at the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California. The Institute released several articles on this survey in 1955.

In this survey of employer and union practices affecting labor mobility, interviews were conducted in 1949 with 340 private employers in all major industry divisions, stratified by size of establishment and location within the Bay Area. The City of San Francisco is regarded as the focal point of the Bay Area labor market and of this very large and diversified metropolitan area with a population of over two million in 1950.

The Bay Area labor market is stratified as follows:

From the point of view of employer practices, the stratification takes several forms: the market is stratified (a) occupationally, (b) industrially, (c) geographically, and (d) by the social characteristics of workers (particularly their age, sex, and race) In the San Francisco Bay Area, as in other labor markets, certain social characteristics of workers -- age, sex, and race -- have a strong and often a determining influence on their job opportunities. About three-fifths of the employers we interviewed preferred or specified that job candidates be less than 45 years old. In most firms, women are limited to certain kinds of work (usually clerical, but also semiskilled production or operating jobs) and find it quite difficult to break into other fields even though they may possess some real competence or ability. Some employers clearly discriminate against certain minority groups: most severely against nonwhites (particularly Negroes, but also those of Oriental descent, and those who are Mexican nationals), and to some extent against Jews. These employment restrictions are partially the result of prejudice, but they also follow from predominantly haphazard and unplanned methods of setting job specifications, such as reliance on "experience" or the requests of supervisors. Determination of job specifications through systematic job analysis and validation of hiring predictions against success on the

job were characteristic only of large, well-managed firms.¹

In regard to job qualifications in the hiring process, employers mentioned several factors pertinent to the job to be filled -- the applicant's status in the labor force, his experience, his "personal characteristics" (appearance, "personality," condition of health, education, or mental ability). According to the Institute of Industrial Relations, "however, the importance of certain 'social factors' in selection and placement (sex, age, and race) seems to be based more often on strongly stereotyped ideas concerning particular groups in our society than on objective measurements or predictions concerning individual job applicants."²

The 340 employers were asked a single question at the end of the interview relating to minority employment. It was phrased: "What kinds of problems have you had in the employment of minority groups?" Each respondent made his own definition and designation of "minority groups." Of the 340, 75 per cent mentioned Negroes as a minority group; 52 per cent indicated Orientals; 22 per cent, Jews; 15 per cent, Mexicans; 7 per cent, Catholics; and 3 per cent, Protestants. The 22 per cent designating Jews as a minority is believed likely to be biased downward, and the 78 per cent claiming no prejudice in hiring persons of this group biased upward, since the respondents could not know whether the interviewer himself was Jewish and in some instances may not have given their actual practices.

The question was found to be quite "sensitive," and Malm attributed this reaction to concern about the possibility of enactment of fair employment legislation. We would add that to the extent that this concern did exist among the respondents, one of its effects was undoubtedly to bias responses in the direction of understatement of restrictive practices and overstatement of the amount of nondiscriminatory hiring and upgrading.

About 14 per cent of the 340 respondents claimed to hire all groups without prejudice, with another 4 per cent stating that they did not inquire as to applicants' religious affiliations. Analysis of specific responses, however, suggests some differentials in employer attitudes or actions with respect to persons of different minority groups.

¹F. Theodore Malm, "Employer Practices and Labor Mobility," op. cit., p. 6.

²F. Theodore Malm, "Hiring Procedures and Selection Standards in the San Francisco Bay Area," op. cit., pp. 235-36.

Table 31 summarizes the responses of employers toward the employment of specified "minority groups."

TABLE 31. EMPLOYER RESPONSES WITH REGARD TO THE EMPLOYMENT OF SPECIFIED MINORITY GROUPS: SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA, 1949^a

Response	Per Cent Giving Response with Regard to Minority Group ^b					
	Negroes N = 254	Oriental N = 176	Jews N = 74	Mexicans N = 50	Catholics ^c N = 22	Protestants ^c N = 10
Will not hire	28	32	8	46	5	20
Prefer not to hire	15	11	4	12	9	-
They never apply	6	6	3	8	-	-
Hire for low-level jobs	36	13	-	16	-	-
Hire for clerical work	d	11	1	-	-	-
Hire for technical or professional work	-	7	-	-	-	-
Hire for sales work	1	1	4	-	-	-
Use as supervisors	4	4	1	-	-	-
Hire on quota basis	3	2	3	4	5	10
Hire without prejudice	12	18	78	14	82	70

^aSource: F. Theodore Malm, "Hiring Procedures and Selection Standards in the San Francisco Bay Area," Reprint No. 64, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley, 1955, p. 246.

^bNote that the percentages in each column use as a base the number of employers who commented specifically on the particular minority group mentioned. That is, of all employers who mentioned Orientals (176 out of a total of 340 respondents), 32 per cent said they would not hire them, 11 per cent said that they preferred not to hire, and so on. Percentages may add to more than 100 because firms could give more than one response.

^cThe percentages in this column are based on a quite small number of responses.

^dLess than 1 per cent.

Employer attitudes towards Orientals appeared more favorable than towards Negroes. The latter were limited to low-level jobs by 36 per cent (91) of the firms designating that group, as against a similar limitation of Orientals by 13 per cent (23) of the employers referring to them. Orientals were mentioned by fewer firms as a minority group, and there was considerably

more reference to the possibility of their employment in clerical, technical, or professional jobs. Even so, 32 per cent of the 176 respondents mentioning Orientals stated they would not hire persons of this identity, as against 28 per cent of those mentioning Negroes who said they would not hire them. It is probably reasonable to assume that except in a period of extremely severe labor shortage those responding "prefer not to hire" may be added to the "will not hire" group for all practical purposes. If this is done, we find that both for Negroes and Orientals, 43 per cent of the employers designating these two groups as minorities would not hire either Negroes or Orientals if it could be avoided. Negro clerical workers were found mainly in government employment. Ten firms reported use of Negroes as supervisors, and 7 reported Orientals in this category -- each number representing 4 per cent of the respective respondent group. Twelve per cent (30) of the employers referring to Negroes stated they were hired without prejudice; 18 per cent (32) of those mentioning Orientals made this statement.

Jewish workers were referred to as a minority group by 74, or less than a quarter, of the 340 employers interviewed by the Institute. Of these 74, over three-quarters said they hired such workers without prejudice, while almost one-sixth stated that they "will not" or "prefer not" to hire them, or do so on a quota basis. No employer reported Jews in professional or technical positions. As indicated above, the revelation of restrictive practice affecting Jews is probably biased downward.

Only 50 of the 340 employers mentioned workers of Mexican identity. Of these, a large proportion, 46 per cent, said they "will not hire" and 12 per cent stated that they "prefer not to hire." Seven firms said that they hire persons of this group without prejudice and 2 referred to quota hiring, while only 16 per cent, or 8 employers, made specific reference to the level of employment -- all of these mentioning only low-level categories.

The Institute included a sampling of employer comments relative to minority employment, all of which are quoted below. The last of these comments came in response to a question on education as a factor in hiring.

"We have three Negro employees as 'kettle tenders' (referring to kettle for heating asphalt). We hired Negroes only because white men won't do such a dirty job. The union won't give a card to Negroes, but they were forced to grant permits to these three because they couldn't furnish applicants for the job." -- Roofing contractor

"We hire a person to do his job -- not for his race, color, or religion." -- Bakery

"There are no application (blank) questions on race, color, or creed. Negroes are used on janitorial and service jobs. Some Orientals are used in sales, engineering, and drafting work. Jews and Catholics are used without discrimination; department managers sometimes don't know that they have Jews." -- Petroleum company

"We had no discrimination against colored and Japanese until recently when we more or less stopped hiring Negroes. We try to keep a ratio of colored to whites. Negroes are not near as good workers as the Orientals." -- Furniture manufacturer

"The owners and about half the department heads are Jews. Will not employ too many Jews, and none who are 'obviously' Jews either in the store or in the factory. A lot of the department heads are Irish Catholics. We have a lot of Latin-Americans; they comprise a large percent of the people in this type of work." -- Jewelry manufacturer.

"We currently employ several Orientals; very good employees. One Japanese is now a group supervisor with white employees working under him; no problems." -- Leather goods manufacturer¹

"We plan on taking all Filipinos as unskilled floor people (bus boys, and so on). Will take only better educated ones -- the firm currently employs several who are working part time on college degrees, and one who is writing his Ph.D. thesis." -- Chain restaurant.²

The following conclusions were drawn by Malm as to differences in employment of Negroes in various industries, occupational levels, and sizes of company:

...firms in building and construction mentioned more frequently a willingness to hire Negroes for "low-level" jobs, and this was true also in wholesale trade and in retail trade. In wholesale trade, the unions which are strongest in the industry have taken a firm position insisting that Negroes be given equal access to jobs in warehousing and distribution. In retailing and in building and construction, despite the difference in degree of unionization, it seems that Negroes have been accepted in the unskilled and service

¹Ibid., p. 246.

²Ibid., p. 243.

occupations. In finance, insurance, and real estate, on the other hand, there is found the strongest resistance and the most frequent mention of the policy that Negroes will not be hired. The comment that the firm "prefers not to hire" (usually because of the resistance of customers, employees, and so on) is more common in durable goods manufacturing, and in public utilities, transportation, and communication. Hiring "without prejudice" occurs most commonly in service and miscellaneous and in nondurable manufacturing.

With regard to size groupings, large firms on the average appear to have (or express more favorable attitudes toward the employment of Negroes. They report less often that they will not hire Negroes and more frequently that they will hire them, even if only for low-level jobs. Summing up, the main employment opportunities for Negroes in this area are found in unskilled and semiskilled jobs, usually in larger firms, and more commonly in building and construction, nondurable goods manufacturing, wholesale trade, retail trade, and service and miscellaneous. The most limited job opportunities for Negroes are in high-level jobs; in smaller firms; and in these industry groupings: finance, insurance, and real estate; public utilities, transportation, and communication; and durable goods manufacturing.¹

Malm's account of the apparent relation between size of firm and position on employment of minority-group persons is particularly relevant to our present study, since our employer interviews covered only large and medium-size firms. Characteristics typical of larger firms, as noted by the Institute, included:

- (a) Greater "visibility" in the community, more prominent and better known, with consequently more careful consideration of the "public relations" aspects of personnel and industrial relations policies. The large firm is less likely to express unwillingness to hire persons of groups such as Negro, Oriental, or Jewish.
- (b) Greater reliance upon direct hiring, with less use of employment agencies, union referrals, and other placement channels.
- (c) More formalized and technical personnel procedures.
- (d) More emphasis on hiring at lower levels and promoting from within, with a tendency to consider hiring in terms of career decisions for applicants, looking toward relatively long job tenure.

The Institute noted but did not endeavor to probe the distinction between the respondent employers' actual employment practices and their expressions of

¹Ibid., p. 247.

attitude toward hiring members of one group or another. In any event, the larger firms were found to be less likely either to have or to express a tendency to discriminate in hiring because of race, religion, or ancestry. As indicated earlier, this characteristic of larger firms means that the predominance of such in our sample of 100 San Francisco employers biases our own findings in the direction of understatement of the extent of restrictive employment practice in private industry in this city.

D. Summary of Findings and Conclusions

The data set down in this chapter, derived entirely from authorized private employer respondents, appear to provide adequate basis for certain conclusions as to management practices affecting employment of minority-group persons. These conclusions should be considered as partial, since they are supplemented, confirmed, or enlarged in various respects by the information from employment agencies, union personnel, and other sources in the chapters which follow.

The possibility of bias should be recalled. With reference especially to the interviews of 100 San Francisco employers -- the main portion of this chapter -- it is undoubtedly true that these findings tend to be conservative or understated as to the actual extent and character of restrictive employment practices.¹ In any event, in this chapter we are reporting and analyzing primarily what employers claimed for their policies and practices.

Almost three-quarters of the 100 San Francisco employers professed to have a definite policy or practice of merit employment, while a somewhat surprising one-quarter made no such claim. Yet of the 74 firms claiming a merit policy, only 12 endeavored to enunciate some sort of statement, and it was clear that in most of these 12 firms the policy had not been formalized or reduced to writing. Conversely, 88 per cent of the 100 employers lacked a definite, written merit employment policy, thus failing to utilize what the President's Committee on Government Contracts, for one, regards as an important factor in "establishing Equal Job Opportunity..."²

Only 9 employer respondents met the more crucial test as to whether they had some form of explicit communication or implementation of the merit policy throughout the firm; and among these there was little indication of

¹See pp. 7-11, 17-18, above.

²See Third Annual Report on Equal Job Opportunity, op. cit., p. 10.

any clear, continuing program of implementation. Conversely, 91 per cent either made no claim of nonrestrictive policy or gave no indication of implementation.

Further evidence of an apparently widespread failure to engage in thoroughgoing merit policy implementation was the fact that of 87 respondents who reported that they used private and school employment agencies for recruiting, only 3 stated that they had specifically informed these agencies concerning their policy. As for the other 84 who said they refrained from discriminatory specifications in job orders, it is probable that many or most of the placement agencies concerned, in the absence of instructions to the contrary, assumed that certain restrictions applied to one or more job categories, and performed accordingly.¹

The same point applies to other labor recruiting activities. The minority-group job applicant, like other persons, tends normally to seek work in places which he has some reason to believe will consider his application. Unlike other applicants, however, he is aware of the possibility or probability that many prospective employers will reject him because of race or ancestry. Since he is job-hunting not for research purposes, but for livelihood, he cannot afford the time to file numerous applications which he believes will be futile because of restrictive practices. He has, moreover, learned to conserve his emotional equilibrium by avoiding discriminatory experiences whenever possible. For those and related reasons there appears to be a general tendency on the part of minority members of the work force to stay away from firms, placement agencies, or unions which (rightly or wrongly) are believed to discriminate.²

This being so, the employer -- or agency or union -- which has not always followed a merit policy but now wishes to offer equal job opportunity to all faces a need to communicate his new policy to labor sources which can serve him on this score. He must help to take down the barrier and make sure that word of the new policy reaches some sources of minority applicants.

¹See Chapters VII and IX of this volume, which deal with private employment agencies and college placement offices, respectively.

²"Members of minority groups usually are reluctant to apply for positions unless they have positive knowledge that the company employs without regard to race, religion or national origin." (Third Annual Report on Equal Job Opportunity, op. cit., p. 10.)

Without some such communication the mere removal of discriminatory specifications in job orders, while commendable, will remain inadequate to the realization of the new policy. Among the 100 San Francisco employers interviewed, we found negligible evidence of communication of claimed merit policies through employment agencies, school counselors, newspaper advertisements, unions, or other labor sources.

In addition to the foregoing deficiencies of policy and implementation, a substantial number of the executives interviewed made various statements which in effect contradicted or qualified their asserted policies. These came mainly in the form of reasons given for not hiring nonwhites in certain capacities. Thirty-five, or almost half, of the 74 employers laying claim to nonrestrictive policies acknowledged in this fashion some degree of restrictive practice. Adding the 26 respondents who made no such policy claim, it is seen that 61 of the 100 either did not make this policy claim or seriously qualified it through their own statements.

The reasons cited by employers for not having nonwhite employees in one or more job categories varied in the degree to which these factors were controllable or subject to some influence by management, or were based on questionable assumptions not actually tested in practice by the employer. Absence of job applications by nonwhites, mentioned by 40 respondents, and lack of skills or experience, advanced by 37, might appear to be factors wholly beyond the control of management. Yet we have seen that both are subject to some employer influence -- that recruitment techniques and other factors may have considerable effect on whether minority-group applicants present themselves, and that for many jobs and industries the development of skills and the stimulus to secure training are open to substantial influence by management.¹ For the most part, however, it seems that the San Francisco employers covered in this study had not undertaken to encourage an inflow of qualified nonwhite trainees or applicants. We do not suggest that this lack of action necessarily reflects a conscious desire to exclude the persons affected, or that it is to be equated with acts of discriminatory rejection of qualified individual applicants. But it does appear to constitute a general failure by management to endeavor to broaden the private industry work force to include nonwhites in a wide range of jobs.

¹See pp. 85-91 and 94-97, above.

Among other reasons most frequently offered for not employing nonwhites in one or more categories were: expectation of customer objections (35 employers); fear of employee objections (33); social, physical, or mental characteristics attributed by the employer to all members of the minority group (31); and autonomy or veto power over hiring vested in department heads or other supervisors, some of whom used racial criteria (22).

Specific responses were also secured concerning nonemployment of Negroes according to job category. These included, with regard to clerical capacities, 26 employers who gave expected employee objection as a reason for not hiring, 18 who cited departmental autonomy in hiring, 10 who mentioned attributed social characteristics, and 9 who anticipated customer objection. For sales jobs, 30 stated Negroes were not employed because of assumed customer objection, 9 referred to decentralized hiring authority, and 8 feared adverse employee reaction.

These examples of reasons given by employers for not hiring persons of one or more nonwhite groups underscore the extent to which the firms so reporting fell short of consistent, across-the-board merit employment practice even though most of them indicated that they followed a nondiscriminatory policy.

Although the main point here -- the contradiction of profession and practice -- stands irrespective of the question of the validity of the reasons offered by employers, we should note in passing that few, if any, of these could be shown in the present context to have such weight or reality as to prevent a determined and intelligent employer from successfully introducing a merit policy. There may be special cases in which, for some jobs, a given employer or industry could reasonably plead difficulties; but experience in employment integration over the past 15 years amply supports the general proposition that most of the stated "reasons" tend to be rationalizations for restrictive practices which are unnecessarily perpetuated because of false assumptions concerning the results of merit hiring, fears based on those assumptions, prejudice, inertia, or other such factors. But whether avoidable or not, the fact of restrictive employment practices was clearly -- if not always intentionally -- acknowledged by a substantial number of the management spokesmen interviewed.

The data developed with regard to the numbers of minority-group employees actually working in various job categories do not necessarily provide a basis for inferences as to the extent of restricted versus open employment oppor-

tunity in San Francisco. This material is offered primarily for its descriptive value as to prevailing patterns of employment among the larger firms studied. Since it is adequately summarized above (pages 74-76), we shall mention here only a few points which may be of special interest.

No Negro employees at all were reported -- not even in service and unskilled jobs -- in from two-thirds to three-quarters of the firms which indicated that they had a merit hiring policy or practice.

For each job category, with one exception, at least two-thirds of all the firms did not report employment of Negroes, Orientals, or Latin Americans, respectively. For most job categories the proportion of firms so reporting was three-quarters or higher. The exception was clerical work, concerning which only 28 employers did not report Orientals and 46 did not report Latin Americans.

More than twice as many firms stated that they employed Oriental clerical workers as reported Negroes in this category. Seventy-two indicated one or more Orientals in this category, 54 reported Latin Americans, and 30 reported Negroes.

For skilled, semiskilled, unskilled, and service jobs, the number of firms which reported Negro employees tended to exceed those reporting Oriental workers by a small but consistent margin.

Negroes and Latin Americans were reported less frequently than Orientals and Jews in professional, executive, lower supervisory, and clerical capacities.

Relatively few employers reported having Negroes, Orientals, or Latin Americans in lower supervisory positions. The numbers indicating Orientals and Latin Americans, respectively, in such capacities were only slightly higher than for Negroes. (The data do not provide a basis for making valid inferences about upgrading practices; they do not in most cases indicate the ratios of minority-group members to other employees by category, nor give absolute numbers of the respective minority workers in supervisory and nonsupervisory positions.)

Among the industry groups covered, finance and insurance reported the largest number of job levels with no minority-group employees. Service industries were second in this respect, despite the fact that, overall, these firms employed relatively large numbers of nonwhites. This tends to support other evidence showing that nonwhites in hotels and restaurants were overwhelmingly concentrated in the lowest-level jobs.

It will be recalled that, since large percentages of the respondents gave no estimates of the number of minority-group employees in various occupations within their firms, there is no reliable basis for determining how many such employees were working, either by occupation or total, in the firms surveyed. It is possible that in some of the instances in which employers said they did not know whether they had nonwhite workers in certain categories, or claimed such workers but gave no estimate as to how many and were unwilling to permit an observational check, there may have been none or few actually on the job. While this statement is applicable to Negro, Oriental, and other workers more or less "visible" and therefore likely to be known to management if present within the firm, it is less relevant to many Latin Americans and may not hold at all with regard to Jewish employees. Group by group, from firm to firm, there may be wide disparities in the degree of top-management interest in or consciousness of the racial, ethnic, or religious identities of workers, and such consciousness may or may not reflect personal bias or restrictive employment practice.

One pattern which emerged was that of widespread exclusion of nonwhites from positions involving public contact. Although some well known San Francisco companies had employed nonwhites in retail sales and other publicly visible capacities for several years with apparent customer acceptance, little evidence was found in the course of our interviews to suggest that this experience had led to a general relaxation of racial restrictions in public-contact jobs. These restrictions continued to weigh heavily in many types and levels of occupation from unskilled and semiskilled to technical and professional, including jobs such as service-station attendant, cab driver, waiter, hotel and bank "front" personnel, grocery clerk, wholesale delivery-salesman, home-service technician, clerical worker in public view, and retail sales person.

We shall not undertake to evaluate the assumption of adverse customer reaction which is the stated reason for most of this type of hiring restriction. But it should be noted (a) that this reason is based, in most instances, on speculation or assumption rather than direct experience; (b) that the employers interviewed offered little or no evidence which would tend to counter the avowedly satisfactory experience of those firms which do include Negroes and Orientals among their public-serving personnel; (c) that in other regions and communities, not all of which are commonly regarded as "liberal" or "tolerant" in race relations, nonwhite workers traditionally hold many of

these public-contact jobs; and (d) that this widely held and unflattering appraisal of the San Francisco "public" conflicts sharply with the prevailing view -- often expressed by employer association representatives, among others -- that this is an especially enlightened city with respect to "tolerance" and human rights.

Also somewhat at variance with the above view was the fact that almost one-third of the employer respondents based some of their rejection of non-white job-seekers on stereotyped conceptions of the physical, mental, or social traits of an entire group rather than on evaluation of the performance qualifications of individuals as such. We have seen, however, that San Francisco employers are not alone in this habit; both Bay Area and nationwide labor recruitment and manpower studies indicate much use by employers of subjective and stereotyped criteria rather than objective determinations of the performance ability of individuals. Prevailing San Francisco practice in this respect may be no better nor worse than that of other areas, but our data do not appear to support the frequent boast that employers here are well ahead in merit employment.

An interesting contrast emerged between these various anxieties and stereotypes entertained by employers in relation to the prospect of hiring minority-group persons and the employers' own testimony as to their satisfaction with such employees on the basis of their actual experience. Of the 74 firms reporting merit policy or practice, 63 answered a question concerning difficulties encountered under that policy; of these, 62 rated such difficulties none or negligible, 1 said there were some problems which were surmountable, and none indicated serious unfavorable results. These conclusions are supported by the data obtained in the management and guidance conferences (section B above). Curiously, some of the most enthusiastic statements of favorable experience with minority-group workers came from respondents who otherwise revealed that they did not actually follow a consistent merit policy.

Our inquiry into preemployment application forms used by the respondents was made against a background of some years of emphasis, especially by employer associations, on the desirability of deleting questions from such forms referring to the race, religion, or national ancestry of the applicant. Our findings tended to corroborate the view that there is no necessary connection between such questions and the observance or nonobservance of merit employment policy in a given firm. More than half of the respondents did not furnish copies of their application forms to the interviewer; most of these said that

their forms contained no potentially discriminatory questions, yet evidence from other sources indicated that in some instances this statement was inaccurate. Of the forms which were submitted by the other 41 respondents, it was found that 25, or 61 per cent, included questions relating to race, religion, or national origin. We received reports from other sources concerning the use of code notations by some employers for this kind of identification of applicants, but these reports provided no basis for estimating the numbers of employers who may have followed such a practice. Finally, some employers who had, or claimed to have, eliminated all questions of this nature from their application forms revealed otherwise in the interview certain restrictive hiring or upgrading practices.

All of the firms which indicated that they held Federal contracts either made no claim to having a definite merit employment policy, gave no information suggesting that they took steps to implement such a policy, or gave reasons for not hiring nonwhites in one or more categories. Due to a possible ambiguity in this portion of the interview, we suspect that the 26 firms reporting experience under Federal contract procedures did not comprise the total number, among those covered, which actually had such contracts.

The employers' reports on their labor recruitment sources and channels held significant implications as to the relative power of management to encourage or discourage an inflow of designated types of applicants. The two channels used by most firms and ranked by most among their three chief employee sources were private placement agencies and direct hiring; these two sources were entirely or highly subject to the employers' preferences. The State Department of Employment was a close third in the number of firms listing it as a source, and ranked high in importance; the Department does not impose discriminatory referrals upon employers. Conversely, labor unions -- the only source with the power and inclination in some industries to restrict job referrals on racial grounds -- were fifth as to number of firms utilizing them and were ranked by the third largest number of employers as among their three most important recruitment sources. Newspaper advertisements were fourth as to the number of respondents mentioning them, and ranked of high importance to the fifth largest number.

This information on labor sources strongly suggests that, with the exception of certain situations in which a discriminatory union may have exercised dominance over placement functions, the employers' control or influence

over main recruitment channels was sufficient so that those who wished to do so had the power to initiate and implement a policy of equal job opportunity. It may be well also to consider these recruitment data against certain of the reasons given by the management spokesmen for not hiring non-whites -- especially the statement that they "don't apply." Finally, this information heightens the importance of our findings on private employment agencies -- as reported in Chapter VII below.

Some of the above findings were also supported or supplemented by employer spokesmen and other sources close to management in the course of the three management and guidance conferences reported in this chapter. Points brought out included the following:

1. Management tends to regard as "sensitive" questions relating to employment of minority-group workers, and the subject receives little attention in such conferences.

2. Some executives hold stereotyped views of certain minority groups, and these views are in part reflected in their employment practices.

3. The usual management fears as to the consequences of hiring formerly excluded minority persons are groundless or exaggerated.

4. Some personnel officers who try to institute merit hiring practices are balked by department or division supervisors.

5. Consistently implemented merit employment policy is not yet common and accepted practice within private industry in this area.

The Malm study also testified explicitly to points 1 and 2 above, and gave implicit corroboration to number 5. In addition, the Malm findings coincided with ours concerning a somewhat more favorable management attitude toward Oriental than toward Negro members of the labor force. It was indicated that generally Oriental workers were less frequently limited to low-level jobs and more likely to be employed in clerical, technical, or professional capacities. Yet for both Negro and Oriental, 43 per cent of the Bay Area employers mentioning the respective groups stated that they either would not or preferred not to hire; the percentage saying "will not hire" was slightly higher for Orientals than for Negroes. A relatively small number of Malm's employer respondents mentioned "Mexicans" as a minority group, but of those who did, 46 per cent said "will not hire," and another 12 per cent stated that they preferred not to. Conversely, of the employers who mentioned Negroes as a minority, only 12 per cent said they would "hire

without prejudice"; the corresponding figures for Mexicans and Orientals, respectively, were 14 and 18 per cent. Among industry groups, Malm found greatest resistance to employment of Negroes in finance, insurance, and real estate. Larger firms, he reported, were more likely than small ones to have or express favorable attitudes toward hiring nonwhites.

Finally, on the basis of the foregoing data derived from authorized private employer sources, we venture the following general conclusions:

1. Of the minority groups studied, Negroes are the most disadvantaged in the labor force, Latin Americans and Orientals are less so, and Jews least so. Although Oriental members of the labor force have achieved significant acceptance -- especially in clerical, technical, and professional capacities, in many of which personnel shortages have continued chronic since World War II -- it appears that in many other categories and in matters of upgrading their status is not greatly different from that of other nonwhites.

2. Although major San Francisco employers preponderantly lay claim to having a definite policy of employment on merit, this asserted policy is in most cases lacking in formulation, authoritative communication within the firm, or other implementation; it may be disregarded by department heads or other supervisors in many instances; it tends to be observed in some job categories but not in others; and it is rarely made clear to recruitment sources. It is possible that in some cases the employer spokesman gave a response in this connection which he considered either acceptable to the interviewer or a desirable statement of principle to which he felt his company should subscribe. Such responses may be significant in terms of the standard to which the executive recognizes his firm should aspire, but can hardly be interpreted as having the status of meaningful, operational policy on a level with other policies governing the company.

3. Reasons offered by the employers for not having nonwhite workers or for having them in certain jobs only, in many instances constituted admissions of practice inconsistent with the claimed merit policy, and revealed a tendency to stereotype all members of certain minority groups as having more or less the same physical, mental, and social traits and capacities. Such stereotyped notions appear to exert a substantial influence on the employment practices of employers who hold them, interfering with what might otherwise be objective determinations of the performance abilities and promise of individuals.

4. Many personnel directors would apparently prefer to administer a more scientific, wholly nonrestrictive employment policy, but have either failed to press for it or been unable to convince their superiors that such a policy should apply equally in all departments. Decentralized hiring authority within firms remains a substantial source of restrictive practice.

5. Employer expectations of seriously adverse reactions from nonminority employees or customers in the event of their hiring minority workers are rarely based on experience and are not supported by the testimony offered by San Francisco (as well as other) firms which have taken this step. Such fears, moreover, imply a negative appraisal of local public attitudes which is at distinct variance with the familiar boast of employer spokesmen and other civic leaders that San Francisco is an especially "tolerant" city. No evidence was uncovered which would suggest that implementation of an across-the-board merit hiring policy in firms which have not yet done so would result in any serious difficulties for management. On the contrary, virtually all firms reported satisfaction with such steps in this direction as they had taken.

6. Many firms which do employ some nonwhites limit them to relatively low-paid jobs, to certain categories only, or to units (as in retail stores) with heavy clientele among nonwhite groups, or restrict the total number in the company or department to a "token" number or to some predetermined quota. Generally, underemployment of nonwhites -- i.e. mainly in jobs below their individual qualifications -- is probably a more serious problem than unemployment, under present economic conditions in this area. The minority-group worker often faces a job ceiling, and is obliged to adjust his aspirations to rule out thought of significant upgrading. Many employers still assume uncritically that they should not place a nonwhite supervisor over nonminority workers.

7. It is probable that many nonwhites (as well as others) lack sufficient skills or training for certain job classifications. But there appears to be serious failure on the part of employers who have manpower needs (a) to make known to vocational counselors and recruitment channels their willingness to drop previous restrictions, (b) to give nonwhites the opportunity of initial entry into the firm, which -- as with other workers -- leads to on-the-job training and skill development. With their parents often limited to lower-level jobs and counselors advising them that the

course of realism is to fit into those categories which are believed currently to be open to them, it is understandable if minority-group youth frequently lack incentive to prepare for the more skilled jobs. At the same time, we should recall that nonwhites are seldom hired in certain job categories which require few or no special qualifications, or for which companies conduct their own training -- e.g. sales clerk, cashier, truck or cab driver, or service-station attendant. Lack of skill or training is not the obstacle in these instances, nor is it, for example, in the large number of firms which report no Negroes in unskilled or service capacities.

8. One pattern which emerges is that in spite of widespread profession of merit employment policy, satisfaction with such minority workers as had been hired, and absence of serious difficulties with other employees or customers, there are still among key business executives extensive minority-group stereotyping, unwarranted fears concerning employee or customer reactions, and multiple forms of restrictive job practice. It appears that although there is at hand considerable employment integration experience which is favorable and relevant to local conditions, this experience is not yet reflected in the thinking or practice of many of the employers surveyed.

9. Management has the power in most cases to initiate or extend racial integration within its work force if it so chooses. Unions in certain industries, on the other hand, can exert powerfully deterrent influences against such action. Management has shown little inclination to challenge unions on this score.

10. Inertia, habit, and tradition, coupled with weak policy and the familiar employer fears about consequences of merit employment, appear to comprise more important determinants of discriminatory job practice than active prejudice. The employers surveyed did not seem, by and large, to exhibit deep, stubborn resistance to integration -- at the same time that few gave evidence of affirmative desire or action to administer such a policy. They seemed generally rather passive on this score, a little fearful of trying a new policy, and uninclined to adopt such in the absence of compelling new incentives.

11. Both those major San Francisco employers who hold Federal contracts and those who do not, fail, for the most part, to measure up to the criteria of merit employment laid down by the President's Committee on Government Contracts.¹

¹See pp. 125-27, above.

12. Despite hopeful and important beginnings toward full-fledged merit employment practice in some firms, and despite many claims of merit policy, the larger local employers have indicated through their own authorized spokesmen that inequality of job opportunity because of race, creed, or ancestry -- especially because of race -- is still common in private industry in San Francisco.

Chapter III. REPORTS FROM NONEXECUTIVE PERSONNEL AND OTHER SOURCES

This chapter presents supplementary illustrative material from nonexecutive personnel and other sources regarding employment practices at several firms in various industries. Since only a limited number of such informal and "unofficial" sources were available for interview, the coverage makes no claim to being complete. This method does, however, provide information from a somewhat different perspective from that of the respondent who is an "official spokesman" for his firm or organization. In all cases those who provided the following information were highly reliable and objective individuals.

A. Data from Nonexecutive Personnel

1. According to a respondent in a large department store, although the employment application blank did not ask about race, religion, or national origin, the practice in the personnel office was to use a code for identification purposes on the blank of a Negro applicant. No such coding was used for Oriental applicants because it was "assumed they can usually be recognized by their name." Yet the executive earlier interviewed at this establishment as the official company spokesman had reported that the employment application blanks included no questions of ethnic identification, that no record of this was made by the personnel interviewer, and that hiring was entirely on a merit basis.

According to our nonexecutive informant, the employment of Negroes in sales jobs was on a token basis. Two Negroes held such jobs, and one was in a lower supervisory position in a unit of the store engaged in a service function for customers. More than one-fifth of the customers were estimated as being nonwhite, and this was believed to be a factor in employing a few Negro sales persons. The placement of a Negro sales person in the store was described as "a matter requiring great care and placement in a spot where he would fit best."

The top management of the firm did not communicate any information about a merit employment policy to supervisory employees and other workers. The respondent believed "it was just taken for granted" by the people who did the actual hiring that only a token number of Negroes were to be placed

in sales jobs in certain carefully selected locations in the store.

Of the 5 or 6 Oriental employees estimated at this establishment, none were in sales jobs, 3 were office clerical workers, and 2 or 3 were in unskilled or semiskilled jobs which did not involve serving the customers. From time to time when Negroes have applied for work, they have usually asked for stock jobs rather than sales jobs, although some by education and previous experience appeared to be overqualified for such unskilled work. Only two or three of the Negro applicants were hired for these jobs. This made an estimated total of about a half-dozen Negroes altogether.

The respondent said he wondered to what extent the negligible employment of Negroes in sales jobs at this firm and the absence of any communicated policy of merit employment tended to discourage nonwhites from applying for sales jobs and influenced them to ask only for stock jobs, which in several cases appeared to indicate underemployment and downgrading. Another factor pointed out was that a number of Negroes had previously experienced rebuffs in applying for sales jobs or clerical work at several other firms and private employment agencies in San Francisco.

2. A nonexecutive employee in a large financial institution submitted a copy of this firm's application, which requested information about the applicant's birthplace and his father's and mother's nationality. If an applicant happened to be a native-born American, the respondent said the practice at this firm was to probe into details regarding the parents' national origin and the individual's race and ethnic identification. He reported seeing a number of blanks where an applicant who was native-born had described himself as American, but was required to cross this out and insert such "appropriate identification" as Negro, Japanese, Chinese, English, Italian, Mexican, or Jewish. In the records of trainees who were referred to various units of the firm, a notation was made for minority-group members (e.g., Mexican, Japanese, etc.). This information was part of the employee's report which was sent to his supervisors as part of his record. In contrast with these practices reported by our informal respondent, the official management spokesman had earlier told us that neither the application blank nor the personnel interviewer asked any questions, nor were any records kept, regarding the race, religion, or national origin of applicants or employees.

According to our nonexecutive respondent, the hiring, job assignment, and upgrading practices for Negroes and Orientals differed from those for whites

and were restrictive according to the location (within the city) of the particular branch, the preferences of the department supervisor or manager, and the level and public-contact aspect of the job. There was clearly no merit policy governing personnel practices throughout this large company. Our informant was certain that since the total number of Negroes employed was so small and their presence such a rarity, the personnel office undoubtedly knew how many were employed, the types of jobs they held, and the location of the units where they were employed. He explained that whereas white applicants were hired through the central personnel office, Negroes would be hired at the discretion of branch or department managers. If a Negro applied at "personnel" and they knew of an opening in a branch which already had some Negro employees, they might refer the applicant for consideration by the branch manager, who would hire or not as he saw fit.

This firm's practice was described in general as one of token employment of Negroes in those branches located in districts with a heavy non-white population and a fairly substantial Negro clientele, apparently as a public-relations gesture and in response to pressures from the Urban League and the Negro press. The respondent had not observed Negroes employed in any of the downtown branches -- not even in those clerical jobs which did not involve public contact, such as clearance on checks which were deposited or handled. He knew of Negroes in only two branches, both in neighborhoods with large nonwhite concentrations. On one occasion when there was an opening in a minor supervisory position in one of these units, none of the Negro employees was selected for this upgraded position.

The company had training programs in various fields. In one such program for young people interested in acquiring "skills on the job" for a particular office position which did not generally involve public contact, of a total of approximately 300 trainees in the past year, none were Negro, 3 were Chinese, 1 Japanese, 1 Mexican, and approximately 10 Jewish. The respondent did not know how many Negroes might have applied, but indicated that various devices were used to "brush off" Negro applicants without intimating the actual reason. A supervisor of one of these programs had told him recently of a presumably well-qualified Negro girl who had applied in response to a newspaper advertisement recruiting trainees. This supervisor told the respondent:

When this Negro girl came in along with the others, I had to give her the test. What could I

do? But I told her afterwards that the reason why she wasn't accepted was because her spelling wasn't good.

Our informant pointed out that this "explanation" was merely a pretext. Not only did the Negro candidate's spelling proficiency appear to compare favorably with that of the accepted candidates, but the particular trainee position was one in which computing and business-machine aptitudes were regarded as important and spelling ability was not regularly considered a criterion.

The respondent reported that he did not know of any specific directive from the top management either for a merit policy or for exclusion of Negroes from these training programs, but that it was "tacitly understood that Negroes wouldn't have much of a chance." It is obvious that in a firm which stresses promotion from within, the arbitrary rejection of Negro applicants from trainee and low-level opportunities precludes the possibility of their acquiring skills and competing equally with other employees for upgraded positions.

Although Orientals were reported as having somewhat greater opportunity than Negroes in this financial institution, their treatment also differed from that accorded white workers. According to our respondent, applicants of this general group could be hired through the central personnel office, but it could not be assumed that any office which had openings would consider them. The department head or branch manager was relatively free to make this decision. The respondent, who had occasion to visit the various units of this firm, did not observe Oriental employees in any capacity in almost 90 per cent of the branches. They were concentrated in several where the clientele and the surrounding neighborhood were heavily nonwhite and in a few downtown units including one which handled trade with the Orient. With one exception, in a branch where the clientele was predominantly nonwhite, no Orientals were reported to be in managerial or supervisory positions.

A quite different story had been told by the personnel executive interviewed earlier at this establishment. He said that since no records or statistics of race, religion, or national origin were kept, the company did not know how many minority workers were employed, or in what positions. He would not have an observational check made of Negro and Oriental employees, nor was the interviewer permitted to make one. According to him, all workers were hired, placed, and upgraded on a merit basis.

The account by this firm's authorized spokesman and the "inside" report

from our unofficial source are clearly contradictory. The latter source was unimpeachable; the individual had been with the firm for some years, both in branches and in certain central office capacities; our questioning was searching and painstaking. Those portions of his report which were capable of independent observational verification were confirmed in that way in another section of our study.¹ There is, moreover, the rejection by the authorized company spokesman of our suggestion of a simple count of nonwhite personnel. This rejection must be considered in relation to the various considerations which would normally prompt management to exhibit proudly its achievement in employment integration.² Altogether, the evidence indicates actual employment practices within this institution seriously at variance with the policy claimed by management.

3. In a nondurable manufacturing firm, the main office of which is located in a state that has a fair employment practices statute, the executive interviewed had given information only about his white-collar, non-manual employees, and would not make nor permit our interviewer to make an observational check of Negro and Oriental workers in other categories. He reported that no Negro women were hired as clerical workers "because the white women would object," and said they tried to get workers of "similar groups" in small offices, so nonwhite workers would feel "out of place." This San Francisco branch of the nationwide firm had great autonomy in hiring practices, and each department head here had "veto power" in hiring and upgrading workers for his particular unit.

According to the respondent, the national office had a merit policy because the headquarters were in an FEPC state. The head office had told the local branch that the policy of the company was to be very careful to give workers of all groups fair treatment, with no racial or ethnic restrictions. The San Francisco branch was reported as interpreting this directive in terms of an informal quota system, the management here attempting to maintain proportions of minority workers approximating their relative local population position.

This executive respondent had said that for a Negro man or woman to be hired by the firm, he or she had to be better qualified than other applicants. His estimates as to numbers of minority workers suggested strongly

¹See Chapter IV.

²See pp. 35-36, above.

that for the nonmanual jobs on which he gave information, the company in San Francisco does not practice merit employment, despite the directives from the national office and professed merit policy. No Negroes or Filipinos were reported as being employed in executive, lower supervisory, clerical, or sales jobs. With the exception of two clerical employees, one of Chinese and the other of Japanese descent, no workers of these groups were employed in any position. Three Latin American clerical workers were the only employees from this group in the nonmanual positions.

In order to obtain information regarding this firm's practices in manual jobs, a nonexecutive employee familiar with this phase was interviewed. Of approximately 1,500 workers in the plant, about 1,000 were machine operators who were predominantly unskilled, and a few who were semiskilled. About 60 per cent were men, and 40 per cent women. Negroes were estimated as under 5 per cent of the unskilled operators. There were no Negroes reported employed in service jobs, as truck-drivers, in skilled jobs such as machinists, or among the clerical, supervisory, managerial, technical, or professional employees in the plant.

According to this nonexecutive respondent, Negroes made up a substantial proportion of the applicants "at the gate" for the unskilled jobs, but relatively few of these were hired, even when there were vacancies. The practice appeared to be to hire only a limited number of Negroes (apparently in conformity with the aforementioned quota policy). They were almost entirely in unskilled work.

Much of the hiring for skilled labor was reported as being done through the union in the field. Our informant knew of approximately 50 Negro members, mostly helpers except for a small proportion of journeymen, in this union local with a total membership of around 3,500. The union was reported as rarely referring skilled Negro workers to this particular firm.

According to our informal respondent, the following three factors contributed to the virtual absence of Negroes in the skilled and upgraded jobs in this company: (1) The company had not practiced its professed merit policy and had not communicated it to supervisors or to the union covering the skilled jobs. (2) The union had rarely referred Negroes when the company notified it of a certain number of vacancies. This local, which had very few Negro members in the skilled category, had apparently not advised the company of any union policy on merit employment. There was no nondiscrimination clause in the union contract. (3) Although the company, according to this informant, had contracts with the Federal Government, there was no indication that the

San Francisco management of the firm had felt any particular pressure to take steps to carry out the nondiscrimination provisions of those contracts.

The data from both the executive and the nonexecutive respondents at this firm present the case of a nationwide firm with a stated merit employment policy and a San Francisco branch with restrictive practices affecting nonwhite employees. The main office of this company went beyond the requirements of its home-state FEPC law in communicating a general merit employment policy to the local office, but the interpretation of that policy here had taken the form of partial quota hiring, with various restrictions inevitably resulting. The executive here indicated little awareness of the program of the President's Committee on Government Contracts, and no measures were reported as being taken in compliance with that program.

B. Data from Other Sources

1. A firm in the public utilities field gave limited information to our staff interviewer and would make no estimates regarding the number or percentage of minority workers in those categories in which they were reported to be employed. The executive interviewed would not have someone in his firm, nor the interviewer, make an observational count of Negro and Oriental employees. No Negroes or Orientals were reported in professional, semiprofessional, executive, lower supervisory, sales and service representative, or skilled labor jobs. Some nonwhites were reported in clerical, semi-skilled, unskilled, and service jobs, but no figures were given. According to the respondent, employees in sales and skilled work had to be acceptable to meet the public and go into homes, and it was believed that nonwhites would not be accepted in these capacities.

Although this firm had contracts with the Federal Government, the executive showed little awareness of the nondiscrimination requirements and program of the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

The company frequently carried newspaper advertisements seeking to recruit inexperienced female workers for an important office category in which many women were employed. In past years this job was almost entirely closed to Negro applicants. During the interview, the respondent gave no information on this point nor any indication of a change in the practice. However, it was learned from another source familiar with the firm's employment practices that in June and July, 1956 nine Negro women were hired for this

office position which involves contact with customers by phone. An additional number of Negro women were recently hired for this position in other communities in the Bay Area and in Northern California, but no figures were available. This situation may represent a change in the employment practices of this firm in an important office category which, with token exceptions, was previously closed to Negro workers.

No change was reported in the restrictive practices of this firm which barred nonwhites from face-to-face public contact jobs. It was reported that there was "no problem for Negro and other nonwhite clerical workers with performance ability obtaining employment in the business offices of the firm." Since no figures were available and no observational count was permitted, it was not possible to ascertain the number and percentage of nonwhites in these office capacities. Another "inside" informant reported, however, that departmental chiefs and heads of various offices were entirely free to exercise their personal criteria in hiring; that there was no binding company-wide merit employment policy.

2. A major taxicab company, like other cab companies in the city with the exception of a small Negro-owned firm, avowedly does not employ Negro drivers. A number of Negro drivers have applied unsuccessfully at this firm over recent years. The company operates more than two-thirds of the cabs in San Francisco and frequently advertises for drivers. Despite these recurrent job openings and the presence of qualified Negro drivers, the firm had not employed any nonwhite drivers at the time of writing the final draft of this report. The president of this company testified in 1955 at a San Francisco Board of Permit Appeals hearing that the company did not "at present" hire Negro drivers.

According to several minority and intergroup agencies, various representations on behalf of a policy change have been made to the company over the past five or six years, wholly without success. In Oakland and Los Angeles, Negro drivers are employed by the local units of this same firm.

Among the reasons given by the company for not hiring Negroes were that prejudiced customers, especially women, would object to taking a cab with a Negro driver; and that the company would be in an unfavorable competitive situation and lose business unless other companies also adopted nondiscrimination policies.

No question was raised by the company about the availability of capable Negro drivers. (Many Negroes have been and are employed as Municipal Railway

bus drivers in San Francisco; their safety and courtesy records have been reported as comparing very favorably with those of other drivers.) Nor was any concern expressed by the management as to possible objections by the drivers' union if nonwhites should be hired. The company was entirely satisfied with its Negro garage personnel.

In the taxicab industry it is clear that neither a lack of openings nor of capable nonwhite applicants can be adduced to explain the complete absence of nonwhite drivers (except in one small Negro-owned firm).

3. According to a management consultant in contact with the top level of management in a number of corporations in the San Francisco Bay Area, some of these executives had informally indicated to him their "reluctance to employ Jews in executive positions." One of these companies was in non-durable manufacturing and another in transportation. In the former firm a few Jews were employed in certain supervisory positions but not in others, and none were employed in the middle or top levels of management. In the transportation firm a similar situation was reported.

According to this management consultant, Negroes faced even more serious employment obstacles in these firms. They were excluded not only from higher-level positions but from many skilled, semiskilled, and lower supervisory jobs.

Both corporations had contracts with the Federal Government, and were subject to the standard nondiscrimination provisions of those contracts. Yet it appears that there were distinct, if informal, religious and racial restrictions in hiring, and especially in upgrading, in these corporations.

These reports from a local management consultant appear to be consistent with the findings of two recent nationwide studies of business executives.

Dr. Mabel Newcomer, economist, published in 1955 a study of various factors which seemed relevant to the careers of chief executives of the 428 largest railroad, public utility, and industrial corporations in the United States. She concluded:

Insofar as there is discrimination in employment or business dealings on account of sex, race, nationality, religion, and politics, it will probably be most apparent at the top levels

No Negro has been found among the top executives of this study.¹

Dr. Newcomer found very few Jews employed as executives in heavy industry or public utilities, and none at all among the railroad executives. Since many of the nonminority executives in public utilities and railroad corporations came from poor families and worked their way to the top, the virtual absence of Jewish executives in these fields cannot be attributed to the disproportionately lower economic level of their families. In marked contrast with these industries is the situation in merchandising, mass communications, and entertainment, where many Jewish executives (including a substantial proportion from poor families) have worked their way to the top.²

Another survey of major business leaders in the United States was made in 1955 by the sociologist Lloyd Warner, who studied the careers of 8,000 top management men. He made this comment on limitations of opportunity for Negroes in managerial positions:

There is more opportunity today, but there must be still more if the needs of business and of America are to be filled Although our present sample of (8,000) big business men was drawn from the whole reservoir of American business leaders, at random, there were no Negroes among the men studied -- eloquent testimony, if any were needed, that our country's selection of men of promise from the lower ranks sorts them in a biased manner. Only now are Negroes entering industrial management, reaching places at the bottom levels of the hierarchy as straw bosses where at least they become qualified as candidates for promotion Given the increasing recognition of the ability and social and personal worth of Negroes, it seems probable that they, too, will have their share of men in leadership. This achievement may be the ultimate test of free competition for jobs.³

4, Data from survey of employment practices made by a managerial association in San Francisco. -- The San Francisco chapter of a national organization of supervisory and managerial people in business offices made available

¹Mabel Newcomer, The Big Business Executive (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 42. Many of the corporations covered in Dr. Newcomer's study have branches in San Francisco, and several have their head offices here.

²Ibid., pp. 46-47.

³W. Lloyd Warner and James C. Albegalen, Big Business Leaders in America (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), p. 227.

the findings of an informal survey of its local members in 1954. At one of the chapter's meetings 43 members answered a questionnaire regarding hiring and upgrading practices for clerical workers in their firms. The respondents were described as a "good cross section" of the membership, which includes supervisory people in banks, local sales offices of national business firms, a few private employment agencies, protective services, etc. The individuals in this sample were generally not in the top level of management in their firms, although many did exercise some power over recruitment, hiring, and upgrading of clerical personnel.

Of the 43 business firms represented in the sample, 23 companies (53.5 per cent) were reported as not "at present" employing clerical workers who are Negro, Chinese, or Japanese; and the other 20 firms (46.5 per cent) were said to have some such workers.

All of the 43 respondents were asked, "Can these people (i.e. nonwhite clerical workers) be promoted?" While 16 (37.2 per cent) answered affirmatively, and 1 in the negative, 26 (60.5 per cent) said they did not know. This latter figure reveals at best a substantial absence of explicit or effective merit employment policies in the firms concerned. A less charitable but reasonable interpretation is that in many of these firms racial restrictions would govern or influence decisions on upgrading of office personnel. In any event, over 60 per cent of the responses clearly reflected an absence of merit policy in promotions.

In reply to the question, "Would you hire one of these people if they were the best qualified of applicants for a job?" 12 managers (27.9 per cent) said they would not, 5 (11.6 per cent) said they "did not know," and 26 (60.5 per cent) said they would. Thus approximately 40 per cent did not indicate they would employ a nonwhite clerical applicant even if the individual happened to be the best qualified for the given position. The 12 respondents who had answered clearly in the negative were asked their reasons for this stand. Some gave more than one answer. Eight gave as their reason that other employees would object; 2 said it was a matter of national company policy; 2 felt that customers would object; and 4 replied that they did not know the reasons.

The next question (asked shortly before the United States Supreme Court decision against school segregation) was, "Do you believe in segregation in the public schools?" Only 1 answered yes; 40 (93.0 per cent) said no; and 2 (4.6 per cent) gave no answer.

In response to the question, "Do you believe in segregation in business?" 2 (4.6 per cent) said yes; 39 (90.7 per cent) said no; and 2 (4.6 per cent) gave no answer. If one assumes that this 90 per cent expression against "segregation in business" reflected the actual personal views of the respondents, their answers to preceding questions indicate, for some, disagreement with the restrictive personnel practices affecting nonwhites which they assist in administering.

Chapter IV. DIRECT OBSERVATION OF JOBS HELD BY NONWHITES

A. Methodology

Observation, a supplementary method to ascertain employment of minority workers, has some limitations. It is not a complete personnel inventory and covers only workers visible to the public at the time of observation. Two groups primarily can be identified, Negro and Oriental. Generally it is possible to identify the specific job. Observation was considered essential because some employers would neither provide estimates as to minority employment nor make an internal check among their personnel.

B. Findings

1. Banks

a. Over a third of the branches of a major bank chain in San Francisco were surveyed between December 5, 1955 and January 5, 1956. The branches covered were located in various districts of the city. In only one of the branches were any Negroes observed; that was in the Fillmore District, in the area of heaviest Negro concentration. Four Negro employees were seen; one, a male bank teller, was in an upgraded job; the other three were female clerk-typists.

Twenty of the 23 Oriental employees observed were in the branches where all or many of the depositors were nonwhite. In almost two-thirds of the branches observed, no Orientals were seen working. Of 23 Oriental employees, 9 were men (7 tellers and 2 in other white-collar jobs), and 14 were women (4 tellers, 6 clerk-typists, and 4 in other white-collar jobs).

A total of 315 employees were observed, and of these, 288 (over 90 per cent) were white; 23 (approximately 7 per cent) were Oriental; and 4 (about 1 per cent) were Negro. Negro depositors were seen in over half of the branches. The range in the percentage of Negro depositors was approximately 2 per cent in one branch to around 75 per cent at the other extreme in a unit located in a predominantly nonwhite neighborhood. Regarding the percentage of Oriental clientele at the time of observation, they were seen at about a quarter of the branches covered, ranging from 5 per cent at one unit to all of the depositors in another branch in an area of heavy concentration of Orientals.

An observation check in 1951 of approximately two-thirds of the branches of this same bank chain indicated:

. . . . Of 536 employees counted, two Oriental girls and one Negro girl were observed working as clerk-typists; the remaining 533 employees (including all the tellers) were all white. The Negro girl was in the Fillmore Street branch where a large share of the patronage is from Negroes.¹

The data suggest that there has been some upgrading and increase in Oriental employees since five years ago, but the upgraded and public-contact jobs are still limited chiefly to the predominantly nonwhite districts. The employment of Negroes still appears quite negligible, with practically no upgrading evident, and limitation of Negro employees visible to the public to one branch in the Fillmore District.

b. Visits were also made to the downtown offices of three other banks. No Negro or Oriental employees were observed in any capacity.

2. A Major Service Station Chain

In January, 1956 not one nonwhite worker was seen among the 43 observable workers in more than a third of the stations of a major chain in various sections of the city. Nonwhite customers were seen at two of the stations. There had evidently been no change since 1951, when Dettering, reporting the check of almost all the local stations of this chain, said that "Of 165 observable workers tallied, not one belonged to a non-Caucasian race."² This chain had a central hiring policy.

3. A Grocery Store Chain

A check was made in January, 1956 of 10 stores of a grocery chain in different districts in San Francisco. The evidence suggests negligible employment of nonwhites, and an apparent limitation of these workers to a small proportion of stores with substantial nonwhite trade. Only 2 stores had any nonwhite workers, and these were in the Fillmore District. One of these stores, with 1 Oriental and 2 Negro women as checkers, in addition to 9 white workers, had at the time of observation approximately 50 per cent Negro customers and about 4 per cent Oriental. The second store had 1 Negro female

¹Richard Dettering, Fair Employment for San Francisco?, Transcript of Testimony before San Francisco Board of Supervisors, May 14, 1951, p.2.

²Ibid.

checker and 7 white workers, and a clientele over 50 per cent Negro and approximately 2 per cent Oriental.

Of 10 stores with 87 workers observed, 83 workers (95 per cent) were white; only 4 were nonwhite, 3 Negro and 1 Oriental. Five stores, half of those observed, had some nonwhite customers, from under 5 per cent to over 50 per cent.

4. Restaurant Chains

A check made in December, 1955 of 20 restaurants in 3 different chains revealed that no Negro or Oriental workers were observed in any upgraded jobs such as cooks, food-servers, or managers. No nonwhite workers were seen in any job involving public contact, and they were observed only in unskilled jobs such as dishwashers, kitchen help, or cleanup. In some of the restaurants, Negro or Oriental workers were not seen even in these menial jobs; and in many of the restaurants where they were employed the number was negligible. The following table shows the distribution of nonwhite workers visible at the time of the observation.

TABLE 32. NONWHITE EMPLOYEES OBSERVED IN 20 BRANCHES OF
3 RESTAURANT CHAINS

Restaurant Chain	Number of Employees				
	Total Observed	White	Negro	Oriental	Nonwhite Cooks, Food-Servers, or Managers
A	121	108	13	0	0
B	40	35	0	5	0
C	81	74	4	3	0
Total	242	217	17	8	0

The total of 25 nonwhite workers (17 Negro and 8 Oriental) observed in the 20 restaurants are approximately a tenth of the total of 243 workers seen. There has apparently been no noticeable change in employment and upgrading opportunities for nonwhite workers since 1951, when an observational check reported by Dettering indicated:

Visits made in fourteen restaurants counted 161 workers, 150 of whom were white; ten Negroes and one Oriental were seen working as dishwashers, kitchen helpers or cleanup men -- none as cooks or servers of food.¹

¹Ibid.

5. Department Stores

Observation in October, 1955 at 15 department stores and specialty stores -- all large retail establishments -- revealed that 11 of the stores (almost three-fourths) had no Negro sales persons. Ten stores (two-thirds) had no Oriental sales persons.

In the 4 stores with Negro and Oriental sales persons, the number employed was very small in relation to the total sales force -- in almost every case under 1 per cent.

TABLE 33. NEGRO SALES PERSONS OBSERVED IN
15 DEPARTMENT AND SPECIALTY STORES

Number of Negro Sales Persons Observed	Number of Stores
Stores with no Negro sales persons	11
Stores with 1-3 Negro sales persons	2
Stores with 4-8 Negro sales persons	2
Total	15

TABLE 34. ORIENTAL SALES PERSONS OBSERVED IN
15 DEPARTMENT AND SPECIALTY STORES

Number of Oriental Sales Persons Observed	Number of Stores
Stores with no Oriental sales persons	10
Stores with 1-3 Oriental sales persons	4
Stores with 4 Oriental sales persons	1
Total	15

In many of the stores there were sales personnel who appeared to be Latin American, but no count was made because of difficulty of identification.

Following are data on observations at each of the 15 stores. The findings are probably most reliable for those jobs involving public contact and which are visible to the public; in retail business this is mainly the sales person. While Negroes and Orientals are employed in many of the stores, it appears that the public-contact positions are still restricted in large measure. Stores A and B are the two which seem to have provided the greatest opportunity for nonwhite workers.

JOB DISTRIBUTION OF NONWHITES IN 15 DEPARTMENT AND SPECIALTY STORES

- Store A Thirty-one Negro workers were seen: 1 department supervisor, 5 sales, 1 cashier, 6 stock and wrappers, 1 clerical, 7 maids, and 10 porters. Twelve Oriental workers included 3 sales, 4 stock and wrappers, and 5 clerical.
- Store B In one unit, Negro employees included 1 department manager; 2 saleswomen; 3 cashiers; wrappers and stock clerks in many departments; and porters and maids seemed evenly divided between Negro and white. In the second unit, Negro workers included 1 salesman and 5 saleswomen; several cashiers and wrappers and stock clerks; and about half of the porters and maids. In both branches, no Negroes were seen in the credit department or in other clerical jobs. Two Oriental sales persons were seen in one branch, and none in the second. Several Oriental stock clerks and clerical workers were seen in both units.
- Store C Five Negro workers were seen: 1 salesman, 1 cashier, 1 wrapper, 1 porter, and 1 maid. Four Oriental sales people were observed: 3 male and 1 female.
- Store D No Negro sales people were observed. Eleven Negro employees were seen, including 6 wrappers and stock clerks; 1 clerical worker; and 4 porters and maids. Oriental workers included 1 sales person, and 5 clerical. Three porters and maids appeared to be Filipino.
- Store E No Negro or Oriental sales people were seen. The 11 Negro workers included 4 porters and maids, and 7 kitchen helpers. Three Oriental workers were clerical. Eight employees seemed to be Filipino: 2 wrappers and stock clerks; 3 porters and maids; and 3 busboys. One sales person may have been nonwhite, but no specific identification was possible.
- Store F No Negro or Oriental sales persons, stock clerks, or clerical workers were seen.
- Store G No Negro or Oriental sales persons were observed. Three Negro employees seen were 2 female elevator operators and 1 male elevator operator.
- Store H No Negro sales persons were seen. Six Negro workers, all women, included 1 window display, 2 stock clerks, 2 elevator operators, and 1 clerical. No Oriental workers were observed.
- Store I Nine Negro workers were observed: 3 saleswomen, 1 stock clerk, and 5 porters. No Oriental workers were seen.
- Store J No Negro sales persons were observed at any of the units of this store. Several Negro stock clerks were seen. There were also several Oriental clerical workers, but no Orientals in sales.
- Store K No Negro sales persons were observed in either of the two units of this store. One Oriental salesman was observed at one branch.
- Store L No Negro or Oriental sales persons were seen. The elevator

operators were Oriental women, and 4 were observed.

Stores	At these three stores no Negro or Oriental sales persons were seen.
M, N,	It is possible that there were some workers of these groups in other
and 0	jobs, but they could not be observed.

6. Private Employment Agencies

The 28 private employment agencies interviewed (see Chapter VII) were not asked specifically about their own employment practices. In virtually all the offices, however, it was possible to observe whether nonwhites were employed as the interviewers or clerical workers. A staff of 4 or 5 persons is common.

No Negroes or Orientals were seen working at any agency. Only 1 office indicated it had nonwhite employees. These were not seen, but the agency reported it had one Oriental and two Negro workers, presumably in clerical jobs not in view of the public.

7. Real Estate Brokers and Lending Institutions

In connection with the housing phase of this Inventory, 64 real estate firms and 12 mortgage lending institutions were interviewed. No questions were asked about their employment practices, but the employees present were observed. Most residential real estate brokers are small employers, having on the average 3 to 4 salesmen and a few clerical workers.

Of 64 brokers, 62 (97 per cent) had no Negroes observable in any capacity, and 2 had 1 Negro salesman each. One of these 2 brokers was a Latin American. Sixty-two brokers (97 per cent) had no Oriental employees; 1 had a Japanese American salesman and 1 a Chinese American salesman.

Regarding the lending institutions, it was possible to observe only a segment of the employees, mainly those in contact with the public. No Negro employees were seen. At one firm, 2 Oriental female clerical workers were observed.

Chapter V. UNION PRACTICES

A. Introduction and Methodology

Our data on union practices relating to minority employment opportunities were obtained largely through interviews of about 30 union officials and members. The employer interviews also yielded some material on union practices from the employer viewpoint, which is included in this chapter. Finally, the present chapter contains further information on employer practices -- as seen by union people.

Although we make no claim of complete coverage of union policies and practices, we were able to obtain a fairly clear picture as to the role played by unions in restricting or advancing equal opportunity in referrals, job assignments, hiring, and upgrading; the practices of unions in membership admission and classification; and some developments with reference to union contracts covering nondiscrimination.

What Robert Weaver said about the role of unions in these matters in Negro Labor seems to be applicable to the present situation in San Francisco. On the basis of a nation-wide survey, Weaver said there can be no sound generalizations about unions with reference to Negroes and other minority workers because organized labor is made up of many units. Practices vary from one unit to another even more than do the stated policies.¹ On the one hand some unions in San Francisco carry on extremely active programs of integration and efforts to upgrade workers on merit; on the other hand there are some unions which bar membership to Negroes and Orientals or admit only a negligible number. In between are unions with varying practices, including some which admit nonwhite members but seem to have differential treatment in upgrading and job referrals.

In the past, according to Weaver, unions have impeded the employment of Negroes by constitutional provisions, by provision of the ritual, by unwritten policy of the international or local, by accepting Negro members but discriminating against them in referrals, by hindering their upgrading, and other such techniques.² Nationally -- and the situation is reflected in

¹Robert Weaver, Negro Labor (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1946), Preface, pp. ix-x.

²Ibid., p. 217.

San Francisco -- the vast majority of organized labor is in unions which do not practice segregation nor constitutionally exclude Negroes or other minority-group members. According to the National Labor Service, in 1943 thirty national labor unions, representing 19 per cent of the nation's organized workers practiced segregation or constitutionally excluded Negroes. Today only 4 per cent of organized labor is affiliated with national unions practicing segregation.

In general, our data on unions in San Francisco suggest that while considerable progress has been made, there are still important areas in the union scene where Negroes and Oriental workers face limitations, although often in forms not openly acknowledged. Herbert Northrup, in his study, Organized Labor and the Negro, cited four forms of discrimination by unions: exclusion of non-whites by provision in the constitution, by ritual provision, by tacit consent, and by segregated auxiliary status.¹ Of these methods of discriminating, tacit consent within the membership seems to be the one most utilized by those San Francisco unions which still exercise restrictions.

In San Francisco -- as the following chapter on the hotel and restaurant industry indicates -- related unions in the same industry sometimes have widely diverse practices in regard to minority groups. The range is from unions in which the practice consistently is to give equal treatment and to foster upgrading opportunities, through those which admit nonwhite members but make little effort to have them upgraded, others which admit a token number, to -- at the other extreme -- several which are virtually all-white. It is interesting that in the case of the latter, the international of one of these restrictive unions has made efforts to persuade the local in San Francisco to change its practices.

B. Role of Unions in Hiring

It is possible best to evaluate the role of the unions in these matters by recognizing what part they play in the hiring and upgrading process. According to the labor-market survey of the San Francisco Bay Area by the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, employers use unions as a source for recruiting manpower in varying proportions for different occupations. Following are the findings based on interviews with

¹Herbert R. Northrup, Organized Labor and the Negro (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), pp. 3-5.

340 employers.

TABLE 35. PER CENT OF EMPLOYERS USING UNIONS AS
A RECRUITMENT SOURCE FOR CERTAIN TYPES OF JOBS,
SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA^a

Type of Job	Number of Employers Responding	Per Cent of Respondents Recruiting through Unions
Manual	284	71
Sales	215	14
Clerical	323	5
Managerial and professional	310	1

^aFrom data in F. Theodore Malm, "Recruiting Patterns and the Functioning of Labor Markets," Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley, 1954, pp. 510-15.

As these data suggest, it is primarily for recruiting manual workers that many employers use unions as one source; and for nonmanual jobs other sources are most commonly used. According to the Institute study, unions are only one of many sources used by employers; others are employers' or trade associations, public employment services, private employment agencies, direct hiring ("at the gate"), friends and relatives, advertisements in newspapers, professional associations or journals, colleges and universities, high schools and trade schools, from within the company, and from other firms.

The high percentage of employers reported as using unions to recruit manual workers for production jobs may tend to overstate the importance of unions as placement agencies because many employers said they usually called the appropriate union first, as required by custom or contract, but they were permitted to use other methods of recruitment if they failed to secure workers this way. Employers in various fields (such as construction, manufacturing, transportation, and service industries) indicated that in addition to using unions they also recruited manual workers directly at the gate, or through the State employment service and private employment agencies. The Institute survey pointed out that unions often place production or operating personnel, especially in building trades, warehousing, longshoring, and

maintenance, while clerical workers are usually found through private employment agencies. The public employment service is an important secondary source for both these groups. Managerial positions are usually filled from within, especially in the larger firms.¹

The differing roles played by various unions with reference to the hiring process are also described in the Institute survey. In certain skilled crafts, casual trades, and others where movement of workers is primarily from firm to firm (as among building trades workers, longshoremen and warehousemen, and teamsters), the unions often have much control over job opportunities through the use of hiring halls or other dispatching arrangements. In other instances, especially in larger firms where there is a wide array of jobs at different levels and possibility of vertical job mobility or promotion within a given firm, the unions (such as auto, oil, and steel workers) are more concerned with conditions of promotion, transfer, layoff, and rehire within the firm. In still other fields (such as metal trades, milk drivers, and dairy workers), the unions exercise influence over both entry to the firm and job conditions within the firm. Although in a highly unionized region such as the San Francisco Bay Area unions may have an important influence on filling jobs, according to the Institute study they are only one of several sources of recruitment, and "our evidence suggests that the mere fact of unionization does not necessarily mean that managerial 'prerogatives' will be hampered materially in such matters as selection and promotion."²

C. The 1948 Stripp Study

For comparative purposes the most complete data regarding Bay Area unions are in a 1948 study by Fred Stripp, who interviewed union officials in 205 unions in San Francisco and the East Bay.³ One hundred and sixty-three were in Federation A and 42 in Federation B. The following tables give details on the Negro membership.

¹F. Theodore Malm, "Recruiting Patterns and the Functioning of Labor Markets," op. cit., pp. 510-11.

²F. Theodore Malm, "Employer Practices and Labor Mobility," Reprint No. 75, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley, 1955, p. 8.

³Fred Stripp, "The Treatment of Negro American Workers by the AFL and the CIO in the San Francisco Bay Area" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, 1943).

TABLE 36. NEGRO MEMBERS IN 163 SAN FRANCISCO AND EAST BAY UNIONS IN
FEDERATION A IN 1948

Jurisdiction	Total Membership	Negro Members	
		Number	Per Cent of Total Membership
76 San Francisco locals	105,004	9,225	8.8
75 East Bay locals	68,452	8,871	13.0
12 Twin-jurisdiction locals	22,495	857	3.8
Total	195,951	18,953	9.7

TABLE 37. DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO MEMBERS BY TRADE CLASSIFICATIONS IN
163 UNIONS IN FEDERATION A IN SAN FRANCISCO AND THE EAST BAY IN 1948

Classification by Trade	Total Membership	Negro Members	
		Number	Per Cent of Total Membership
Building Trades	57,398	6,442	11.2
Metal-Machinery	37,868	2,638	7.0
Transportation	29,085	1,737	6.0
Food-Clothing-Laundries	39,075	5,006	12.8
Professional-Technical	20,130	620	3.1
Service	12,395	2,510	20.2
Total	195,951	18,953	

TABLE 38. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF 18,953 NEGRO UNION MEMBERS
IN FEDERATION A BY TRADE CLASSIFICATIONS IN
SAN FRANCISCO AND THE EAST BAY IN 1948

Classification by Trade	Negro Union Members	
	Number	Per Cent of Negro Members
Building Trades	6,442	34.0
Food-Clothing-Laundries	5,006	26.4
Metal-Machinery	2,638	13.9
Service	2,510	13.2
Transportation	1,737	9.2
Professional-Technical	620	3.3
Total	18,953	100.0

TABLE 39. NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES IN 163 UNIONS IN
FEDERATION A AND 42 UNIONS IN FEDERATION B IN
SAN FRANCISCO AND THE EAST BAY IN 1948

Number of Negroes Reported in Local	Number of Locals in Federation A	Number of Locals In Federation B
0	55	6
1-10	23	9
11-25	21	6
26-50	17	5
51-100	13	3
101-200	8	9
201-500	16	1
501-1,000	8	1
1,001-2,000	1	0
Over 2,000	1	2
Total	163	42

Fifty-five, or about one-third, of the 163 unions in Federation A had no Negro members, and 23 unions (14 per cent) had from one to ten Negro members. Thus a total of 78 locals (48 per cent), almost half, had no Negro members or a relatively small number. The 55 unions with no Negroes represented about 50,000 jobs. In Federation B there were 6 locals with no Negro members (14 per cent) and 9 locals (21 per cent) with one to ten members, making a total of 15 unions, or 36 per cent, with no Negro members or a very small number. The 6 unions with no Negro members represented about 5,000 jobs. The 18,953 Negroes reported in Federation A comprised about 10 per cent of the total membership. For San Francisco alone, there were 9,225 Negro members, almost 9 per cent of the total membership in the Federation in that city. In Federation B, the 7,557 Negroes represented approximately 14 per cent of the total membership.

In Federation A the Negroes were largely concentrated in a relatively small number of unions which were mainly unskilled, with one important exception. Five locals -- 2 of common labor, 2 of culinary workers, and 1 in molders' work -- accounted for about 30 per cent of the Negro members in the 163 locals contacted. Two locals for building service workers made up another 15 per cent of the Negroes, and 9 locals of carpenters accounted for 10 per cent. Thus 16 locals (about one-tenth) accounted for 55 per cent, or over half, of the Negro membership.

Of 13 San Francisco locals "on wheels" with a total membership of almost 13,000 in 1948, 11 locals had no Negro members and 2 had a negligible number:

5 in one local with a total membership of 4,200, and 2 in another local with a total membership of 1,400. In some trades, one or two locals in San Francisco and the East Bay had several Negro members, and some had none. In electrical work, the shipyard locals had 150 Negro members, but the "outside" electrical and radio workers' locals had none.

In the local union of department store employees, there was a relatively small number of Negro members -- 75 in a total of 5,000 -- but the union had not been able to obtain the upgrading of a single one to sales jobs. The Negroes worked as stock girls, culinary workers, matrons, and window-trimmers.

In Federation B, almost two-thirds of the Negro members were concentrated in two unions -- 2,200 in longshoremen and warehousemen (among a total of 15,000), and 2,500 in marine cooks and stewards in a total of 7,000.

Stripp concluded that:

1. Federation A officers -- with the exception of certain leaders who deserved special credit for antidiscrimination practice --

. . . often made no expression of regret or apology if there were not many Negro members reported. There was a marked tendency . . . to make the point that the union did not discriminate. It was common for . . . [Federation B] leadership . . . to admit shortcomings in the local's rate of progress in anti-discrimination efforts¹

2. Frequently leaders in both Federations -- whether they favored integration of the Negro or not -- observed that he "has been handicapped by lack of education and lack of special labor skills."

3. According to leaders in both Federations, the chief hurdle was the initial acceptance of the Negro worker.

4. Both the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League had "placed Negro workers in jobs and in unions where they would not have been placed had the Negro worker made application without this organizational support."

5. Numerical gains were high in fields available to Negroes in the past -- e.g., construction labor, culinary, laundry, and building service. World War II had brought gains in shipbuilding and repair and in shipyard and shop labor. Among unions which had previously discriminated against Negroes or been closed to them, there had been significant gains in locals of boiler-makers and machinists, railroad and street transport workers, and carpenters and painters.

¹Stripp, op. cit., p. 266.

6. On the other hand, some significant areas were still closed to the Negro in the Bay Area.

. . . In the large categories we include teamstering, professional, technical, and white-collar jobs. In the smaller areas are some of the . . . craft unions /some of which/ keep the Negro worker out themselves /Federation B/ unions mentioned claim that it is either lack of present interest on the part of the Negro workers or employment discrimination¹

7. Labor officials in both Federations were unanimous in their attitude that management was the source of most of the job discrimination suffered by the Negro in the Bay Area.

8. The national and local Federation B antidiscrimination policy had been one of the most important things that had come to the Negro in the entire history of the American labor movement.

9. It may be said that the Negro worker did not occupy an unfavorable position in the San Francisco Bay Area Federation A and Federation B unions in May, 1948, as compared to his past status in the labor movement.

D. Union Practices as of 1956

It is possible to compare some of Stripp's 1948 data with the findings of the present study. There have been gains in nonwhite union membership, but in a number of locals restrictions are still in effect. In some cases where there have been numerical increases in Negro and Oriental members equal employment opportunity is not yet achieved, for the nonwhites are found only or primarily in the lower-level jobs and appear to have little chance for upgrading. At the same time, the complete or relative absence of nonwhite members in a particular union, or their employment only in lower-level jobs, is not necessarily evidence of restrictive practice by the union. Several union leaders who were interviewed pointed out that despite a sincere policy favoring merit employment and union integration, they had few nonwhite members and these were all in the less desirable job categories. Among reasons given for this situation by union officials were these:

1. In certain industries (e.g. one service industry firm and another in communications) the union plays a quite minor role in hiring and upgrading.
2. The employers will not accept nondiscrimination clauses in their labor contracts despite strong union insistence.

¹Ibid., p. 270.

3. Some of the employers the union deals with have indicated they will not accept nonwhite workers for certain jobs. In other cases, employers do not communicate such a restrictive policy but do not hire nonwhites if they are referred by the union.
4. Relatively few nonwhites with the required skills have applied, and although they would be welcomed on an equal basis in the labor organization, it might still be difficult for them to be placed.
5. Nonwhites are often discouraged from getting the special training they need, or feel little incentive to do so, if in past years few nonwhites have been able to obtain employment in the given field and there has been no public indication that these employers are now practicing merit employment.

According to a union respondent, the increase of Negro union members in San Francisco in the last decade has been due in large measure to the continuing influx of the nonwhite migrant population, with a relatively high percentage of young adults. He reported that a large proportion of this increase in Negro membership has been in fields which were traditionally open in the past in lower-level, unskilled, semiskilled, and service jobs which are often unwanted by white workers. This union official -- who favors integration and merit employment -- termed many of these jobs "residual," i.e. marginal in income and stability, with low status and little opportunity for upgrading. Some gains have been made in higher-level jobs, but these have been comparatively small in number and limited to certain occupations and industries.

Apparently there remain many of the restrictions which were found in 1948, both in terms of membership and upgrading opportunity. While several unions in 1956 had some Negro and Oriental members where there were none in the earlier period, the number of such members was typically very small. In various San Francisco unions -- both major and minor -- there was in 1956, as in 1948, complete or almost complete absence of nonwhite members.

It was not possible to obtain a full and reasonably accurate count of Negro and Oriental members in San Francisco unions. Only a small sample of unions could be covered. Several union respondents indicated, as did some employers, that no records or statistics were kept of race, religion, or national origin. A few respondents stated that even to inquire how many Negroes or Orientals are in a given union is a "discriminatory" question. If a union has no nonwhite members or a negligible number, the presumption of restrictive practices often seems well-founded. On the other hand, there

were some cases where the small number of union members reflected employer restrictions alone -- where the unions clearly had a nondiscriminatory admission policy but few nonwhites were employed. Again, it appears that some unions which have substantial numbers of nonwhite members fail to exert any appreciable influence on employers to give such members equal treatment when opportunities for upgrading occur. It is clear that in general no firm conclusions can be drawn as to the actual minority practices of a union solely on the basis of numbers or proportions of such members.

Among the various driver and delivery service unions, "the unions on wheels" in San Francisco, there have been gains in some locals, in terms of both admissions and numbers of Negro members. It is estimated that there is a total of 40,000 members in the 19 locals in this council. Some data were obtained regarding 17 of these locals, but often numerical estimates were not available. The 2 locals on which information were not obtained are quite small. The jobs under the jurisdiction of the unions in this council are described by a union respondent as predominantly semiskilled and unskilled, with a greater proportion of the latter.

Of the 17 locals, 8 (about half) still have no Negro members. Two locals were reported as having negligible Negro membership -- under three members. Seven unions, approximately 40 per cent of the 17, were reported as admitting Negroes on an equal basis; and while numbers and percentages were usually not given, these locals were said to have a fairly substantial number of nonwhite members. One of these locals reported that of their total membership of approximately 3,000, around 300 or 10 per cent were Negro. Over 150 of the latter had "steady employment" and the rest had "casual employment." Approximately 150 members in this local, or 5 per cent of the total membership, were Oriental. Although a substantial number of Latin American workers were said to be members, there was no estimate of the number or percentage.

The factor of job competition in a field of "dwindling employment" and the interest of some unions in protecting the seniority of their members were among reasons given for admitting few or no Negroes. Two other explanations given were (1) that Negroes are recent arrivals and have only recently begun diversifying their employment patterns; and (2) that their education is sometimes inadequate to make out bills, keep records, and similar duties of work which is largely unskilled with some semiskilled. The education described as necessary was "at least grammar school." Yet many white members of the

locals appear to have very limited education, while many Negro young adults who have been living in San Francisco and attended its schools undoubtedly have an education at least equivalent to that of many white members in these unions.

One official in the local which gave estimates of numbers of members thought that more than 50 per cent of the Negroes would not be accepted by employers with whom the union deals. These employers include many large retail stores and wholesale and distributing firms. The dispatcher in the same local estimated that the proportion of employers with whom he is in contact who would not accept Negro workers was as high as 75 per cent. He stated that many employers specify in their phone orders that they do not want Negro workers.

The unions in this field which restrict their membership do so by tacit consent. The constitution of the international union makes no restriction and states that any person who is of good moral character, is a citizen or has applied for same, and who is not a Communist or member of a subversive organization, is eligible. The international permits each local to decide who its members shall be.

The experience of unions in the hotel and restaurant industry is set forth in Chapter VI of this report. The evidence there assembled indicates that there are serious limitations of opportunity for Negroes and Orientals in upgraded jobs and that this is due primarily to employer resistance, and in some cases to union exclusion, restriction, or weakness in opposing the employers' discriminatory practices

A local union in another field, a retail trade, reported substantial restrictions in job opportunity for Negroes in its orbit. This union stated that of its 3,000 members, about 10 or 15 were Negro; about 120 to 130, Chinese; 3 or 4, Japanese; and about 50, Mexican. While the Orientals faced restrictions in many stores, the situation for Negroes was much worse: there were very few stores which would employ them. Of three chains, one had 5 or 6 Negro employees, most of whom were in stores in districts of high concentration of Negro population. The second chain had no Negroes, and the third may have had about 2.

This union respondent indicated the interest of his labor organization in promoting merit employment, but said that the union "caters to the whims of the employer," and whenever possible tries to refer the "type" of clerk the employer wants. In those stores where Negroes were employed, the employ-

ers usually reported satisfaction with their work but rarely put them in positions to meet the public, except where there was employment in a predominantly non-white neighborhood, on the assumption that this would attract trade. The union reported that it was generally very difficult for a Negro man or woman to get a sales job except in a few stores in the Fillmore District or in a few deteriorating sections such as around Third Street. If a market hired an occasional Negro worker in other neighborhoods, it was generally as a stock boy, not for sales. In 1954 this union conducted two polls of different random samples of its membership, inquiring about various attitudes regarding the union. The sample was approximately 10 per cent, and, like the membership, was fairly equally divided between men and women. Following are two questions from the survey and the distribution of answers:

Do you think it is a good idea or a bad idea for a union to try to get members of minority groups (Negroes, Chinese, etc.) into jobs in the place where you work when there are vacancies?

1. Good idea (9 per cent)
2. Bad idea (49 per cent)
3. OK up to a point (29 per cent)
4. Don't care (9 per cent)
5. No answer (4 per cent)

Do you think there is any feeling in your store against hiring members of minority groups (Negroes, Chinese, etc.) as clerks in your store?

1. Yes (51 per cent)
2. No (13 per cent)
3. Don't know (32 per cent)
4. No answer (4 per cent)

It will be noted (a) that the members responding to these questions were almost evenly divided between those who disliked the idea of acquiring non-white fellow workers and those who did not disapprove,¹ and (b) that slightly over half of the respondents believed that there was "feeling" in their respective places of work against hiring nonwhites as clerks.

Unlike the situation in department store hiring, where the employer selects personnel at the gate and they then join the union, the retail trade

¹It is now well established that generally there is little or no correlation between attitudes toward nonwhites held by whites in advance of the employment of nonwhite fellow workers and the actual adjustments between the two which ensue when nonwhite employees are added. Extensive experience supports the general conclusion that when management consistently and intelligently administers a merit employment policy, little or no difficulty is encountered in the introduction of nonwhite personnel, notwithstanding earlier verbalizations by white employees.

union we are here discussing is first called by the employer when he needs workers. The union is therefore in a position to exercise somewhat greater control over hiring. Yet, as indicated above, the union endeavors to serve the employers' preferences; there is no rotation of referrals among unemployed union members. This union respondent stated also that while those few employers who do take Negro clerks are satisfied with their job performance, Negro workers are generally assumed not to be "business-getters." This view, it was indicated, stems in most cases solely from their minority status and racial identification, and is not related to job competence. It was the opinion of this union official that there had been little change in the employment status of Negroes since the 1954 survey within his union.

Another union respondent, who perceived a need for considerable education of both leadership and rank-and-file concerning equal opportunity, noted that the poll reported above was taken among union members working in a field where neither employers nor union leadership actively promoted the principles of merit employment; where employers did not have explicit policies to this effect, nor were there nondiscrimination clauses in union contracts. This respondent further stated that some union officials, like some employers, are in varying degrees, fearful of initiating a completely nondiscriminatory policy or simply apathetic on the question. In some cases union officers who are personally without prejudice will fail to exert leadership in promoting equal opportunity because of antiminority feelings among some portion of the membership and the latent danger of losing strength in the organization's internal political contests. This observation is clearly not limited to unions in retail trade.

In the building and construction trades it appears that relatively small overall numerical gains in Negro union membership have occurred since Stripp's 1948 study. He reported that Negroes then comprised about 11 per cent of the total union membership in this industry on both sides of the Bay. For San Francisco proper, in 1956, one key union official in these trades estimated Negro membership at approximately 10 to 12 per cent, or about 2,500. This official stated that before World War II the comparable figure was 15 to 20 Negro members. He felt that this growth over the preceding fifteen years constituted great progress.

It is essential, of course, to consider not only numbers of nonwhite workers but their distribution in the various union locals. This apparently

includes some with substantial Negro membership, some with little, and others with no Negro members. The union constitutions contain no membership restrictions according to race; where restrictions apparently operate, it is by tacit consent -- coupled with strong disclaimers of discrimination. In some of the unions in this field Negroes are admitted only if they are transferring from other locals.

In the opinion of our key union respondent, the Negro who gets into the building crafts is a good worker, as good as and sometimes even better than the white. Some sharp distinctions were drawn (evidently stereotyped in nature) between the "fine 'native' Negroes" who were here before the War and the more recent migrants who are "not good scholars and often cry-babies, charging discrimination if they are laid off and running to organizations to complain." The respondent thought it was "only a matter of time" before full integration in his field would occur. At one point he indicated the period this would take as twenty years, allowing time for Negroes to acquire training or for those with necessary skills to "drift in" from other cities.

Much of San Francisco's Negro employment in these construction trades is either in government work such as in the Naval Shipyard at Hunters Point or other shipyard work by private industry which is under government contract. The union official said that while there were a number of Negroes at work in the shipyards as painters, electricians, and in similar crafts, very few of these workers were able to get jobs "uptown" -- that is, outside shipyard work. One reason he gave was that the work "outside" required more skill than many Negroes have. But a more important reason was stressed by the respondent. This is the unwillingness of many contractors to employ Negroes on jobs where they go into the home. These would include the work of plumbers, electricians, tile setters, carpenters, and, in some instances, house painters. The respondent appeared to share the view of the contractors who felt that a woman at home would not want a Negro artisan coming in. The respondent thought the contractors and the housewives could hardly be blamed for feeling this way in view "of what you hear about Negroes in the crime wave." The respondent also expressed the opinion that San Francisco has done "a pretty good job of absorbing some 50,000 Negroes in a short period . . . from 5,000 before the War to about 60,000 now." (The latter figure appears to be an overestimate.)

It was extremely difficult to get any estimates from this building trades official as to Negro membership in particular unions, or as to apprenticeship opportunities. He thought that it "might be hard" for the Negro to get

apprenticeships in some of the craft unions and to be admitted as a member in some of the unions. Structural workers in iron and in elevator construction were reported as having no Negro members, and "it would be hard for Negroes to get in." He did not know of any Negroes in the engineers' locals, sheet metal work, or lathers, and thought there might be very few Negro members, if any, in tile-setting. No Chinese plumbers were reported to be in the union in San Francisco, but on the Peninsula there were said to be several.

The respondent referred to many of the craft unions as "closed" unions but would not specify if this meant they were closed or virtually closed to Negroes or to all applicants. According to him, it would be hard for a white worker, too, to get into these unions because the work is highly skilled and employment has been "spotty," so the unions want to keep down the membership rolls in order that the present members can be placed first. One of the "problems" with Negro workers was that "they prefer steady jobs," while much work in the building trades is short-term.

In speaking of the union in iron construction, this official said there would be a problem for a Negro to become an apprentice because he would be the only one and the foreman or superintendent would be "tough on him." He pointed out that this union, which locally had no Negro members, had some Orientals of "mixed blood from Honolulu, maybe one or two Koreans, and several American Indians, but no full-blooded Chinese."

According to this union respondent, there were several hundred Negroes in three carpenter locals which had a total membership of 5,000. The hod-carriers -- an unskilled trade -- had some Negro members, but there were none among the bricklayers. Three or four Negroes in the plasterers' union were "transients," presumably on transfer permits from locals in other cities. A few Negroes were working as electricians, but mainly as marine electricians in shipyards. There were several Oriental journeymen (from six to ten) in the electricians' union; and a number of Oriental members in the painters' union.

The data on the building trades unions suggests that while there were Negro and Oriental members in a number of them, there remained a serious problem of upgrading, and in a number of unions a problem of admission. While it seems that these skilled crafts were difficult for anyone to enter, the practices of some unions and of many contractors made the problems of training and entry even greater for Negroes than for white workers. Much of the

Negro employment in these trades seemed to be in the lower-level jobs, or in skilled crafts in the shipyards, but with great limitations for jobs "outside" where there was home service or calling on various stores.

Railroad work in San Francisco, as in other parts of the country, offered substantial union membership in some segments and complete exclusion of nonwhites in other, very important categories. The latter are the "Big Four" independent railway unions of engineers, firemen, trainmen, and conductors. Nor were there any Negro switchmen in San Francisco, according to one railroad union respondent.

These conditions obtained despite the fact that railroads and other common carriers have been ruled to be "in contract" with the Federal Government and therefore covered by the employment nondiscrimination requirements of all Federal contracts. Our railway union respondent rejected the contention of some railroad employers that they cannot hire nonwhites for the jobs covered by the restrictive unions; he argued that not only the Federal contract provisions but present Federal labor law and, in California, court decisions pursuant to James v. Marinship Corp.,¹ give the employer adequate power to hire qualified workers despite adverse racial policies of the unions concerned. Apparently no railroad management in this region has elected to use these powers to bring down the industry's remaining color bars.

The composition of unions among building service workers reminds us that even in lower-level, unskilled and semiskilled jobs there are often limitations affecting nonwhites. In some cases unions are "traditionally" all-white. In some instances employers refuse to accept Negroes. In other situations it is said that nonwhites have not sought this work, possibly because of its menial, dead-end nature, or because of their belief that they would not be hired. For certain jobs -- usually at the lowest level -- some employers specifically request Orientals; there is almost no upgrading from these "traditional" jobs.

An analysis of the membership of 11 unions in this field in the San Francisco area (8 in San Francisco and 3 on the Peninsula) indicated that 5 locals with the greatest membership had a large proportion of Negro, and some Oriental, members; 3 had a negligible nonwhite membership; and 3 were "traditionally all-white." Even in a field where many of the jobs were residential, lower-level, and mainly unskilled with some semiskilled, a substantial

¹James v. Marinship Corp., 25 Cal. 2d 721 (1955 p.2d 329).

proportion -- 6, or over half -- of these 11 building service unions had no nonwhite members or only a very few.

Of the 5 integrated unions, 1 with 3,500 members (janitorial) was 25 per cent Negro and 5 per cent Oriental. The second (porters and elevator operators in hotels and apartment buildings) had about 1,750 members, of whom over half were nonwhite, with more Oriental than Negro. One union (for workers in hospitals and other institutions) had approximately 3,000 members, about half of whom were Negro. A fourth, for local government employees in cafeteria, gardening, clerical, and other jobs, had a fifth of its membership of 1,500 who were nonwhite. The fifth union, for maintenance workers on civil service, had about 20 per cent Negroes within a total membership of 700, and some Oriental members, the number of whom was not estimated. These locals evidently promote equal treatment of all members.

The 3 unions with few Negro and Oriental members ("almost none" or under 1 or 2 per cent) were: (1) janitors in amusement places (total membership about 240); (2) elevator operators in office buildings, almost no Negroes and a token number of Orientals "for atmosphere" among the approximately 800 members; and (3) no Orientals and almost no Negroes among the 180 workers in cemeteries and lawn care.

Of the "traditionally white" unions in this service field, the one for window washers numbered about 400 members; the local for service workers at athletic and golf clubs had around 175; and the statewide union for race track cashiers had 620 members who move from one track to another. In the latter union, an official has endeavored, so far without success, to overcome some worker and employer resistance to admission of Negro members.

A union in the publishing field offers an example of a labor organization which has attempted seriously but unsuccessfully to persuade its employers to adopt a fully consistent policy of merit employment. This union's San Francisco membership is approximately 1,200. Although the union is unquestionably open without regard to color or ancestry, few nonwhites are employed within its jurisdiction and there are, consequently, few nonwhite members. The employers hold complete control over hiring, and within each of their establishments there is, in varying degrees, decentralization of hiring on a departmental basis. The union covers a fairly wide range of jobs, including professional, sales, and clerical. Employment of Negroes and Orientals is negligible in all categories, particularly in the public contact positions. The virtual absence of nonwhites in the pro-

fessional jobs may be explained largely in terms of a chronically tight job market and relatively few applicants with the requisite qualifications; our union respondent said that in his view the limited job opportunities had generally discouraged nonwhites from entering the field. But almost the reverse supply-and-demand situation prevails with regard to the nonprofessional office jobs covered by this union, and still there has been little employment of nonwhites. Within the past year, moreover, during a contract renegotiation, the employers flatly rejected the union's proposal for addition of a nondiscrimination clause to the master contract, arguing that to introduce such a clause would carry the implication that they discriminated, reflecting unfairly on their nondiscriminatory policies.

One is tempted to suggest in passing that the foregoing industry exhibits several features with regard to merit employment which are probably characteristic of many San Francisco employers -- although the specific job categories would, of course, vary from one industry to another. These features are (1) strong, and probably for the most part sincere, protestations of high-mindedness, of belief in the principles of merit employment; (2) assertion that such a policy governs hiring, promotion, and separations; (3) willingness of some employers in this industry to consider qualified nonwhite applicants for professional openings, but somehow the openings and the applicants have not yet coincided, probably because, as indicated above, there have been few of either, and possibly because no particular effort has been made by management to recruit first-rate nonwhite personnel; and (4) little or no attention by top management to clarification or implementation of the stated merit policy in the departments employing office, sales, and other personnel, with the result that no effective policy of this sort is operative. With various individual exceptions, there is undoubtedly no conscious wish by management in these firms to be a party to employment discrimination; but opportunity is in fact limited. As so often occurs in employment, discrimination persists partly through default -- coupled usually with some lurking fears (long since proved groundless in widespread employment experience) as to the consequences of taking on minority staff.

Concerning the union and employment status of Negro Americans, the late Walter White observed:

. . . . There are still too many segregated locals, and too many devices that facilitate discrimination on the

basis of race, religion, or place of birth in hiring, referrals, upgrading and assignment to jobs.¹

In San Francisco, while some unions still exclude nonwhites, the phenomenon of segregated union locals appears to be largely a thing of the past. One exception is found among the musicians, who have both a white and a Negro union local. In December, 1954 the international union's official journal published the report of a nationwide survey of civil rights within the union by William P. Steeper, an official of the organization. San Francisco was reported as one of fifty cities in the country with separate "colored locals." Steeper wrote that Negro members have full status in the eyes of the international union, including voting participation as delegates to conventions. The international's general practice is that where there are segregated locals all Negro members come under the jurisdiction of the Negro local, even if they are performing in a "white establishment." According to Steeper, "The colored local must in this case enforce the wage scales and working conditions of the white local. This is to prevent establishments hiring colored members to play for less than white members. Such would clearly be unfair competition."²

Steeper concluded that the union generally is making rapid progress "toward the final abolishment of 'Jim Crow.'" The international headquarters assists in negotiations if two separate locals indicate an interest in merging. In San Francisco, in December, 1956, the membership of the all-white local voted, 786 to 554, to reject a merger proposal favored by the Negro local. Leaders of the white local had followed an announced "hands off" course with regard to the merger proposal, neither openly recommending nor opposing it.

Some San Francisco unions follow the curious practice of refraining from organizing workers in their trades in certain heavily nonwhite districts, such as Chinatown and Fillmore, in order to avoid admitting Oriental and Negro members. Among these unions are those engaged in personal services and in the preparation and sale of consumer goods. In Chapter VII we

¹Walter White, How Far the Promised Land? (New York: Viking Press, 1955), p. 192.

²William P. Steeper, "Civil Rights," The International Musician, December, 1954, Chapter 14.

report data on this point with reference to the hotel and restaurant industry. The head of one of these unions gave as his explanation for this practice the assumption that nonwhite members would take the jobs now held by whites, while nonwhite establishments or those which prefer Negro or Oriental personnel for "atmosphere" would not employ white members. (A respondent acquainted with the experience of the New York City local of the same union -- functioning under a fair employment statute -- stated that there the union's procedure of nondiscriminatory rotation of members for job referrals has not led to any of the problems for customers, workers, or employers feared by the San Francisco official.)

E. Nondiscrimination Clauses in Union Agreements,
San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Area, 1955

Only about 18,000 workers, approximately 5 per cent of the almost 350,000 workers covered by union agreements with employers in the six-county San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Area, have a clause in their contracts prohibiting discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, or national origin. These figures are based on a review of all contracts covering 100 or more workers in effect in 1955 or later, which were on file with the Division of Labor Statistics and Research of the State Department of Industrial Relations in February, 1956.¹ There were such nondiscrimination clauses in 29 (6 per cent) of the 481 contracts. In 11 of these agreements, the obligation of nondiscrimination was accepted by both union and employer, whereas in the other 18 the clause referred only to the employer or was expressed in a very general way.

The 29 contracts were distributed among 14 unions: 1 was party to nine agreements, 3 to three each, 1 to two, and the remaining 9 to one each, these-unions were for the following types of workers: radio, communications, petroleum, electrical, machine, mine, mill, smelter, chemical, atomic, automobile, aircraft, agricultural implement; also, meat cutters and butcher workmen, dental technicians, teamsters, chauffeurs, warehousemen, hod carriers, building and common laborers, longshoremen, and steelworkers.

¹"Nondiscrimination Clauses in Union Agreements, San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Area," California Industrial Relations Reports, No. 9 (San Francisco: Division of Labor Statistics and Research, State Department of Industrial Relations, March, 1956), pp. 13-16.

Nineteen contracts, covering 6,970 workers, were with employers in manufacturing industries: petroleum products; food and kindred products; chemicals and allied products; ship and boat building and repairing; aircraft and parts; electrical machinery, equipment, and supplies; and other manufacturing. The remaining 10 contracts covered 11,050 workers in nonmanufacturing industries: wholesale trade, water transportation, and others. Wholesale trade was the industry in which the largest number of workers (5,610) were covered by agreements having nondiscrimination clauses, with water transportation a close second (5,120). Aside from petroleum products (2,820) and food and kindred products (1,100), the other industries accounted for less than 1,000 workers each.

The data from the report by the Department of Industrial Relations suggest that:

1. A negligible proportion of unions and of employers with 100 or more workers in the San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Area have nondiscrimination clauses in their agreements.
2. Most of the 14 unions with nondiscrimination clauses in their agreements are not in the highly skilled crafts, but primarily in unskilled and semiskilled work.

The report by the Department does not go into the factors determining the inclusion or absence of nondiscrimination clauses in the union agreements with employers. Information on this point was fragmentary, and statistics were not available when the present study, the Civil Rights Inventory, was conducted. The interviews revealed that in several instances unions were interested in including the nondiscrimination clause in the contracts, but the employers concerned objected. No employer mentioned any case where management was interested in including such a clause, but the union objected. The data from the various sources suggest that the absence of nondiscrimination clauses in most of the agreements was due to a failure by employers and unions to indicate in practice their interest in merit employment by taking one of the affirmative steps.

In Chapter VIII an employment service respondent pointed out that inclusion of the nondiscrimination clause in agreements would prevent employers or unions from shifting to the workers the responsibility for restrictive practices against minority-group members. If any workers or customers were to object to minority workers, the clause in the contract could be cited as evidence that the management and the labor union jointly agreed to

practice merit employment.

The omission of such nondiscrimination clauses from the great majority of union contracts facilitates a form of "buck-passing" between union and management which is well known to minority job-seekers. Many employers say they have no Negroes or Orientals in certain jobs because their white workers object or because the union either denies them membership or will not refer them for openings. Some unions, on the other hand, report that they have few or no nonwhite members because employers will not hire them, or explain that they are found only in low-level jobs because employers will not have them elsewhere.

F. Reasons Given by Unions for Having Few or No Nonwhite Members

In those unions where few or no nonwhite members were reported, or where the nonwhite members were limited mainly to the lower-level jobs, the respondents were asked what they regarded as the reasons for this situation.

Many union spokesmen pointed out that their constitution and ritual had nondiscriminatory provisions and that any person of good character was eligible. A very large proportion of union respondents also said that their international unions had passed policy resolutions at conventions favoring merit employment and nondiscriminatory union practices. The data in the present study indicate that a much greater percentage of unions than of business firms had formal statements of a merit policy. In Chapter II we reported that most firms did not have formal, stated policies of merit employment, but that usually this was said to be implicit, and in relatively few cases was there any indication that such "implicit policy" was communicated and implemented in practice.

Yet even in many of the unions with formal nondiscriminatory policies there was little evidence of sustained activity to communicate this policy to the union members, to employers, and to the community, or to make sure that admissions, referrals, training opportunities, and upgrading were on a merit basis. Reference has already been made to the fact that the great majority of unions and almost all union members in the San Francisco Bay Area were not covered by nondiscriminatory clauses in their contracts with employers.

What sometimes happens in practice is that unions take in several nonwhite members but do not refer them to certain job openings because it is

assumed or was found in the past that particular employers would not hire them. This point also applies when nonwhites are referred only to the lower-level jobs but not to the upgraded jobs. There are, of course, instances where a union makes intensive efforts to upgrade nonwhite workers but resistances from employers and from other unions in the industry limit such efforts. An illustration of this situation is a union for service workers (in the hotel and restaurant industry) which has been making a determined attempt to upgrade the minority workers on an equal basis with other workers but is seriously hampered for the reasons stated above.

Some union officials offer the explanation that the relatively low seniority of Negro and Oriental members tends to limit their numbers or cause differential treatment in frequency and type of referrals. A few union officials use the same explanation as that given by some employers: that nonwhites are not "business-getters," or can be used only for certain jobs because it is assumed the customers will object. These union leaders, like many employers, say they have no control over the situation, and tend to minimize the power and prestige of their positions as central functionaries and "gatekeepers" in the hiring and upgrading process.

For example, in several unions in the shipyard division Negroes and Orientals are placed in numerous jobs in semiskilled and skilled crafts. But these nonwhite workers are generally not referred to jobs at homes or business firms in the city because it is assumed that householders, customers, or the contractors who do the hiring would object.

One union official indicated that there is occasionally a strong factor of economic competition where restrictions are placed against newcomers to prevent job competition. But the data suggest that other factors are also involved, such as an assumed threat to social status and stereotyped views on the part of some union officials and members.

Many of the explanations given by unions for having few or no Negro or Oriental members or for having them only in lower positions are very similar to those given by employers. Explanations which are often stated are: "They don't apply," "They lack the skills," or "They're not educated enough." In a large proportion of cases, however, the specific objections have little to do with competence to perform a given job -- referring rather to certain assumptions about their acceptance for jobs involving public contact, personal service, supervisory functions, and the like.

The result is that Negroes and Orientals are excluded from or limited in upgrading opportunities and sometimes discouraged from getting training for a wide variety of jobs, including some in clerical and sales; drivers delivering at stores, factories, or homes; semiskilled or skilled services such as home repairs or installations; service jobs where workers come face to face with the clientele or serve them. In a number of instances, with union officials as with employers, the factor of bias in regard to minority groups was emphatically denied as an explanation for having few or no Negro or Oriental members or for assigning them only to the lower-level jobs. In some of these instances union officials participated in various projects to improve inter-group relations, yet the memberships of their unions included few or no non-whites.

Some international headquarters of unions give their local chapters considerable autonomy in establishing their own practices in regard to merit employment and integration, even if the local pursues a line of action contrary to the stated policy or constitution of the international. The explanation by internationals about "local option" sometimes seems to reflect much the same lack of firm policy and of implementation as that shown by some union locals and employers who say they have no control and no responsibility for the circumstance that minority workers are not admitted to the union, or admitted in token numbers, or for lower-level jobs only.

There are instances of unions which say that Negroes cannot be admitted because the employers and customers would object, while the employers in turn say that the workers and customers would object. This circular reaction goes on in a seemingly large number of cases, although there is often ample evidence at hand to question the validity of the assumptions. One such union in San Francisco, by way of illustration, is a local for drivers delivering certain food products to homes and stores. In Oakland -- where another local of this union has taken a firm and active stand in developing a policy of integration, both within the union and with reference to the employers -- the customers and dealers, as well as employers and employees, have come to accept such practices as a matter of course. Yet the San Francisco local of the same international continues to restrict its membership.

Another illustration, in the transportation field, is also a union for drivers which has no Negro members. The major firms in this industry in San Francisco do not employ nonwhite drivers, although in Oakland, Los Angeles, and other cities they are hired and are admitted into the union. The record

for safety, courtesy, and performance by Negro operatives in a related field -- bus-driving -- is reported to compare quite favorably with that of other workers in the San Francisco Municipal Railway. No question about the availability of capable Negro drivers has been raised in recent years by either the union or the employers. Nor is there basis for fear of job competition or displacement, since positions are usually available, as evidenced by the frequent advertising by one of the employers to recruit more drivers. The biggest employer states that his objections to hiring Negro drivers include fear of being placed in an unfavorable competitive situation -- his assumption being that some white customers would shift to his competitors -- and worry about the reactions of white drivers. The employers and the union in this instance appear to reinforce each other's restrictive practices. Neither, it seems, is willing to make the first move to lower the color bar; yet if either were to take the initiative, the other would have no practical choice but to cooperate.

Those unions with restrictive practices (such as admitting few or no nonwhite members, referring them to jobs on a differential basis, and making no effort to place them in upgraded jobs) generally disclaim any responsibility for these practices. Often in such cases there is a strong denial of bias or of discrimination on the part of the particular union, and the responsibility is attributed to "others" who are said to be prejudiced -- customers, employers, employees -- to community attitudes, and occasionally to members of the union itself.

The point is sometimes made that it has been the "tradition" of the particular union, of the industry involved, or of the community not to have Negroes (or Orientals, as the case may be) in the specific type of job. The assumption is often made in such instances that these so-called traditions are unalterably fixed or can change only gradually over a period of many years. Such assumptions ignore changes in occupational distribution and patterns as revealed in the United States Census and other authoritative reports. Some of these pertinent Census data are analyzed in the appendix to this report.

Whether the emphasis is placed on "tradition" or on "prejudices of others," these union respondents (like employers who gave similar explanations for their restrictive practices) tend to disregard the main intent: the proper focus of those who are genuinely interested in achieving equal

employment opportunity is not on purported explanations and justifications for restrictive practices but on taking appropriate steps to change actual forms of discrimination which negate or impede the professed policy. Thus the promotion of merit employment is not a drive against prejudice but against discriminatory practices. As the President's Committee on Government Contracts points out, nondiscriminatory employment practices include but are not limited to equal opportunity in employment (or hiring), upgrading, demotion, transfer, recruitment or recruitment advertising, layoff or termination, rates of pay or other forms of compensation, and selection for training, including apprenticeship.¹

In a few instances, union respondents gave as their explanations for restrictive practices what appeared to be ethnic stereotypes. These were usually based on a few cases which the respondent had observed or was told about, or reflected a situation which may have been partly true ten or twenty years ago. Several union leaders (like employers who gave similar explanations) cited certain unfavorable characteristics and attributed them uniformly to all or almost all members of a particular minority group. By accepting these generalizations or myths as characteristic of an entire group, these respondents gave evidence of acting on these assumptions so that a minority worker would not be considered on his individual merits but treated as if all members of the group were identical. Sometimes the stereotyped behavior would have interesting refinements, such as distinguishing between the "good" Negro and the "bad" Negro.

A union respondent in the construction field illustrated this viewpoint when he praised the old Negro nonmigrant residents of the East Bay as "hard-working, respectable, law-abiding, and intelligent," as contrasted with the more recent Negro migrants "who don't have any education, and don't have the fine work habits of the old 'Berkeley Negroes.'" Despite these praises of "old time" Bay Area Negro workers, our respondent offered no explanation as to why restrictive unions have kept them out just as they have those considered less desirable.

Another union respondent in a field which is mainly unskilled agreed

¹The President's Committee on Government Contracts, "A General Statement Regarding the Implementation of the National Program for Equal Employment Opportunity," January, 1955, p. 14.

with employers who don't like to hire Negroes "because they are a bad credit risk and get involved in heavy debts." This respondent had no information to support this assertion except to cite a few isolated cases which were not limited to workers of any one ethnic group. He said that employers found it a nuisance to be contacted by bill collectors seeking to attach the workers' wages.

Several union respondents also mentioned what seemed to be stereotypes about workers of other minority groups. One of these assertions was that Orientals are just "naturally and physically suited for certain jobs" (such as housework and the lowest-level jobs in service industries), and that "they don't go in for other work such as machinists." Another respondent said that in his field of craft unions, "you don't find many Jews because Jews don't like to work with their hands, but almost always become contractors." He thought there were some Jewish workers in the unions in his field but would not estimate the number, and he did not express any awareness of the numbers of Jewish members of craft unions in cities with larger Jewish populations, such as New York and Chicago.

In general, many reasons given by employers were also given by union leaders in explaining restrictive practices. A striking difference was that many union spokesmen attributed responsibility for restrictive practices to employers, while a smaller proportion of employers, in turn, cited unions as the source of such practices.

The unions were found to be more likely than business firms to have some written policy statement or resolution on nondiscrimination. However, both employers and unions, in discussing practices which appeared to be restrictive, seemed to be more concerned about giving reasons and explanations in justification for these practices than in reporting what, if anything, was being done to prevent or remedy them.

G. Conclusions

No claim is made for complete coverage of unions in the present study, but the limited data available indicate that the great majority of unions in San Francisco admit some Negro and Oriental members. Many of these organizations follow a policy of integration and admit, refer, and try to upgrade members on a merit basis. A few examples of the latter type are certain unions in communications, shiploading, warehousing, the garment

trades, and in service industries such as hotels, restaurants, and institutions.

In another category are those unions which generally do not have any restrictions by constitutional or ritual provision, but by tacit consent have nonwhite members in such small numbers as to suggest a policy of token admissions. Such practices are not limited to any one or two industries but include many of the unionized jobs in San Francisco. Examples are some of the unions "on wheels" for drivers and several of the construction and building unions.

In still another category are unions which have either no nonwhite members, or, in a few instances, a single exception -- usually an individual with a transfer card from a local of the same union in another city, or someone who was admitted only after a serious dispute between the union and his employer, with the possibility that litigation would be initiated in which the union would lose. Illustrative of such labor organizations are some of the unions for drivers and delivery services, several in the transportation field, a union whose members are prominent in hotel and restaurant work, and several in maintenance services.

As the above data suggest, it is often not possible to generalize about the various unions in a given industry or in related jobs. In the building and construction field, for instance, some of the craft unions have a fairly substantial number of Negro members, others have only a few, and still others have none. A similar situation prevails in service industries, including the unions in hotels and restaurants and in building service. In several of these unions where there are nonwhite members they are limited almost entirely to the lower-level jobs, while in others they seem to enjoy equal status.

In a number of cases unions with limited nonwhite membership, or with such members mainly filling the low-level jobs, attribute this to employer resistance. But even in situations where the labor organization may exert influence upon hiring and upgrading, the data suggest that some of these unions tend to leave their nonwhite members in downgraded categories or to practice differential treatment in job referrals and assignments.

Many unions in San Francisco appear to have tolerated restrictive employment patterns by failing to secure nondiscrimination clauses in union contracts. In several cases, unions have made an effort in this direction but have been unable to overcome employer resistance. The absence of nondiscrimination clauses in the great majority of union contracts facilitates a kind of

"buck-passing" between unions and management, with each blaming the other for exclusion of or limited employment opportunities for Negroes and Orientals.

Although unions seem to be more likely than employers to have formal, stated nondiscrimination policies (as in bylaws, resolutions, etc.), many unions do little or nothing about communicating and promoting this policy among their members, employers, or the general community. In some cases the international union may have an explicitly stated merit policy but the locals, having an option as to whether to carry out this policy, follow restrictive practices or do very little about admitting or upgrading minority-group members. With a number of unions, as with many employers, the main focus of attention in our interviews was found to be on purported explanations and justifications for restrictive practices, where if the primary concern were to put into practice a merit policy, the focus would have been more on the actual forms of discrimination which impede or obstruct processes leading to that policy.

The need for better vocational counseling was indicated by one union respondent as essential to encourage minority youth to secure training and acquire skills. However, employers and unions generally do not communicate their merit policies, even where such exist, to supervisors, workers, trade schools, counseling services, minority and intergroup agencies, and the minority-group public. Minority-group members and the people who counsel them in trade schools and public and private counseling services are frequently not aware of new or potential opportunities for those who are adequately trained. It appears that some Negro youth, for example, have been discouraged from getting training in certain skilled crafts because they or their advisers have assumed that the unions and employers in the given field would not accept them. This negative assumption is entirely understandable on the basis of the general history of job discrimination and the fact that equal opportunity is still far from achieved in San Francisco. It is therefore all the more essential that unions and employers who wish genuinely to effectuate a fair employment policy take vigorous and affirmative steps so to inform all sorts of educational institutions and the public, with special attention to the minority public. Yet there is little evidence that either of these key parties to the employment process are taking such action to encourage youth and others among minority groups to expect equal treatment

when they apply for jobs and for union memberships. Building that expectation would be a major undertaking, since it entails breaking long-established, deeply-rooted, well-known patterns of employment discrimination. But without such changes minority youth and others will continue without adequate incentives to get the training and develop the skills of which they are capable.

The role of unions in recruitment, placement, and upgrading varies from union to union, but in a large proportion of cases their power is limited in these matters. There are some unions which endeavor to practice a merit policy but have little power over recruiting, placing, and upgrading, so that employer resistance is basically responsible for the complete or virtual absence of nonwhite workers or for their being limited to low-level jobs. Where unions play a more important role in recruitment, they have sometimes placed obstacles in the way of minority workers' admission and participation, and have reinforced restrictive employer practices. Although management and labor each has certain opportunities to foster fair practices in training, apprenticeship, hiring, and upgrading, the greater power in this situation usually rests with the employer. Generally it seems that if an employer really wants to employ workers solely on a merit basis, he may do so even if the union attempts to obstruct this practice. A union respondent in the railroad field believed that many firms, especially those which are under the Taft-Hartley Act or bound by the nondiscrimination provisions of Federal contracts, could successfully introduce and administer a merit employment policy despite discriminatory union policies and pressures. He pointed out that if the employer's true intent were to practice merit employment, the sanctions of law and public opinion would support him -- in which case either the job or union membership, or both, would be open to nonwhites on the same basis as to other workers. This respondent thought that the explanation by some employers that they do not hire nonwhite workers because the union does not admit or refer them was an attempt to justify their own restrictive practices and to shift responsibility.

Relatively, unions seem to play a secondary role to employers in maintaining restrictions and limitations in employment opportunity for minority workers. Some unions have carried on intensive efforts within their membership and in relations with employers to foster merit employment in hiring and upgrading. Where a union is strong and determined in this policy it is usually able to exert favorable influence on employer practices. Yet like numerous employers, a substantial number of unions appear to act on the assump-

tion that an implicit or nominal policy is sufficient with little or no effort to communicate, promote, and practice it. A smaller, though significant, number of unions in various industries either have no nonwhite members or a negligible number. Some of these unions actively exclude or limit membership on racial grounds; some reflect employers' restrictive practices, and have made no serious effort to change those practices; while others have tried but failed to influence employer policy in this respect. The racial composition of a particular union is, therefore, not conclusive evidence of a restrictive union policy, or of neutrality or negligence with regard to promotion of equal opportunity. Each union-employer situation, including the basic power balance between the two parties, must be examined to ascertain where and in what degree responsibility lies. Typically, though with important exceptions, that responsibility lies primarily with the employer.

Chapter VI. A MAJOR SERVICE INDUSTRY -- CASE STUDY OF HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYERS AND UNIONS¹

Analysis of union and employer practices in the hotel and restaurant industry highlights some problems in the upgrading of minority workers. In a port and trade center like San Francisco, with many tourists and conventions, this service industry plays an important role in the economy of the city.

Nearly 25,000 persons are employed full or part-time in the culinary trade in the approximately 3,000 restaurants. About 10,000 (40 per cent) of the workers in this service industry are members of three minority groups -- Negro, Chinese, and Filipino. Data on employment practices in this field were obtained by interviews in the fall of 1955 with the officials of six unions in this field, and with personnel or other officers of five hotels and three restaurant chains; analysis of union records and histories of this industry in San Francisco; and related sources of information. There were also interviews with a random sample of 50 minority-group members in the union local predominantly made up of minority workers.

A. The Unions

The total membership of six union locals in this service industry, according to estimates by the unions, is about 21,500. The total figure estimated for those employed in the field is approximately 25,000. Part of this difference is accounted for by waiters, waitresses, bartenders, and other workers in Chinatown and the Fillmore District, where little or no organizing of Negro and Oriental workers has been attempted.

The following table (prepared from Kezer's data) shows the approximate percentage which Negro, Chinese, Filipino, and other nonwhites comprise in the six unions, and the types of jobs held.

¹Most of the data for this section were made available by Arthur H. Kezer, who kindly gave permission for the present survey to use the findings and analysis of his unpublished study for the Master's degree in Business Administration, "The Problem of Upgrading in a Multi-racial Service Industry," University of California, Berkeley, January, 1956. In addition, this chapter includes information given to our interviewer by management in five large hotels. Like Kezer, we express thanks to Miss Helen Wheeler, President of Miscellaneous Culinary Employees Union, Local 110, San Francisco, for her invaluable cooperation.

TABLE 40. DISTRIBUTION OF NONWHITE UNION MEMBERS IN THE HOTEL AND RESTAURANT INDUSTRY,
BY TYPE OF UNION, AND RACE AND SEX OF WORKER^a

Type of Job	Approximate Membership in Union	Negro			Chinese			Filipino			Other Nonwhites		
		Male No. Per Cent	Female No. Per Cent		Male No. Per Cent	Female No. Per Cent		Male No. Per Cent	Female No. Per Cent		Male No. Per Cent	Female No. Per Cent	
Dishwashing and other unskilled culinary	3,000 (2,200 males - 73 per cent; 800 females - 27 per cent) Over 90 per cent form minority groups, including 300 (10 per cent) Mexican males.	800	36.3	783	97.9	550	25.0	2	.3	300	13.7	-	-
Hotel service work, mainly unskilled, some semi-skilled, including kitchen and dining room help, maids, bellboys, room clerks	2,900 Negroes mainly maids, charwomen, housekeepers.	10	b	790-890	b	c	b	c	b	c	b	-	-
Restaurant managers, waiters, busboys, supply men -- largely unskilled and skilled	4,000 males Nonwhites--almost all busboys.	25	.6	-	-	350	8.8	-	-	150	3.8	450	11.2

Chefs, cooks, frycooks -- semiskilled and skilled	3,500 Probably one-tenth non-white. Negro members mostly frycooks.	200 males and females (5.7 per cent of total)	"some" (No figures)	"some" (No figures)	-	-	-	-	-
Maitresses and bus-girls -- unskilled and semi-skilled	5,000 females Essentially all white. Negroes all busgirls. Chinese and Filipinos all in Oriental-type restaurants.	-	-	"a few" (No figures)	-	-	-	-	-
Men serving drinks at bars and restaurants -- semiskilled and skilled	2,800 males	-	25	.5	-	0	.0	-	-
		1	d	-	-	-	-	-	-

^aBased on data from Arthur H. Keizer, "The Problem of Upgrading in a Multi-racial Service Industry" (Unpublished Master's thesis, School of Business Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1956).

^bBecause the sex distribution of the total membership was not given, this per cent could not be computed.

^cUnion secretary reported 25-30 Chinese and Filipinos, almost all men.

^dLess than 0.5 per cent.

The unions in this industry showed a wide range, from those with substantial nonwhite membership to those practically all-white. Some unions having different job levels within their jurisdictions had nonwhites primarily in the lowest level -- such as busboys and busgirls, but not as waiters and waitresses; or Negroes in various "back-of-the-house" hotel jobs, but not as desk clerks or other "front" jobs.

In regard to Negroes, while 1 union had 53 per cent of its members of that group, 1 had 29 per cent, and 1 had 6 per cent Negro members, the remaining 3 unions (half of the total) had practically none. In 2 of these latter 3 unions, the few Negro members were almost all in the low-level jobs. Negro members of the unions in this service industry were found chiefly in the least skilled, most menial jobs, and almost always those which did not involve public contact. In most of the unions upgrading appeared to be the major problem for Negroes, while in one there was virtual exclusion of persons of this racial group.

Regarding Chinese workers, 1 union had about one-fifth of its members of that minority group and 1 union had almost one-tenth Chinese members, but 3 unions had unspecified small numbers, and the sixth union (with 1 Negro member) had no Chinese members. As for Filipinos, 1 union had 10 per cent Filipino members, 1 had 4 per cent, 3 had "some" or "a few," and 1 union had none. The upgrading problems in most of the unions and the restrictions of one of the locals were similar for members of all three minority groups. Although far more Negroes than Chinese or Filipinos were reported (2,634, as compared with approximately 900 and 450, respectively), they were more consistently found in the lowest-level jobs.

In this service industry unions play an important part in the hiring controls, according to industry-wide agreements. In large measure the labor organizations act as "hiring halls," so that the union has a great deal of discretionary power in referrals. Referral practices affecting minority workers vary from one union to another.

The union local with a preponderance of nonwhite workers (also the one most concerned with bringing about their upgrading) provided an opportunity to interview a random sample of 50 minority members, all in lower-skilled jobs. An attempt was made to learn if they had skills or experience which would enable them to hold other jobs. The sample included 39 Negro men and women (average age about 40, all Southern migrants who came mainly during the war years, with an average schooling of slightly over 7 years for males and

8 years for females), 5 Chinese men (average age, 50), 5 Filipino men (average age, 56), and 1 man of Mexican descent.

The data, applying primarily to Negroes, indicate that about half of the persons had held higher-level jobs in the culinary field. Others had held better jobs in various fields such as shipfitting, where the job market had subsequently become tight. About one-third of those interviewed had cooking experience, and another tenth had experience as waitresses. Many of these persons were apparently unable to secure these better-paying jobs in San Francisco. Some seemed to need vocational guidance and additional training in order to qualify here to resume their former occupations.

Other factors which were evidently involved in the upgrading difficulties of minority workers in these unions were as follows.

The policies of some unions did not encourage nonwhite workers to try for upgraded jobs. Nor did some of these unions make much, if any, effort to organize minority workers in restaurants or bars in Chinatown and the Fillmore District. Some union members and officials seemed to resist entry of nonwhites into their own job levels, because of fear not only of job competition but also of lowered social and occupational status.

Another difficulty was the resistance of some employers -- or the assumption by the union and the applicant of employer resistance -- to upgrading nonwhite workers. Minority persons in unskilled jobs often lack motivation to acquire more education or train for higher skills if they feel, on the basis of experience with unions and employers, that their opportunities would be limited even if they had the training. The data on the 6 unions suggested that 3 (50 per cent) were actively interested in developing upgrading opportunities for nonwhite workers in their industry. Of the remaining 3 unions, 2 (the ones for men and women waiting on tables or as food-servers at counters, and for busboys) seemed apathetic on the subject; and the third was opposed to such upgrading and had only 1 nonwhite member.

The international office of the latter union had reportedly been endeavoring to have its San Francisco local change its restrictive practices. The union constitution stated specifically that membership is granted without regard to "race, color, or religion." The color bar was maintained in this local and in the Oakland unit by tacit understanding and practice, not by any explicit or stated policy. An official of the San Francisco local, when asked about the virtual absence of nonwhites, replied that none of this type applied, and that any applicant who successfully completed these required

three steps was admitted: (1) get two present members to vouch for him, (2) be voted in by the membership, (3) pass a test as to his abilities in his trade.

It appeared that these steps can be made as stiff or as lenient as necessary, depending on the person. For a nonwhite applicant, they could present formidable hurdles. According to Kezer, the official made no reference to the litigation several years earlier on behalf of three Negroes working for an employer who was willing to sign a union contract but was refused because the three Negro workers would have had to be admitted to the union under such a contract. One Negro member was admitted some time after the institution of this suit. He was reported to have been a member of this union previously in another city and wished to transfer to the local here.

The local in San Francisco has made no drive to unionize establishments in San Francisco where Negroes, Chinese, or Filipinos are employed. The union official contended that the Chinatown establishments would not employ whites, and expressed the fear of a competitive threat -- that once the Chinese were organized, they would infiltrate where whites were working and put them out of work. A similar situation prevailed in regard to Negro workers in the Fillmore District. Despite the explicit nondiscriminatory national policy of the union (and the satisfactory experience in integration of other locals of this union in various cities and of many other unions in San Francisco) this local in its "informal" operating code followed an exclusionist policy.¹

There may be a serious question as to the validity of a test used by the union official to prove his point that Chinatown places of business would not hire whites in this trade, thereby attempting to justify the union's abstention from organizing the Chinese workers. The procedure of having a white member canvassing these establishments and asking if they would hire him was said to elicit the unanimous response that none would. Aside from the point that some specialized restaurants employ workers of a particular ethnic group to match the atmosphere and cuisine, there is another consideration. The Chinatown employers who were questioned and the union in this case appeared to have a common interest, although for different reasons, in not having the Chinese workers organized and not having union members (of whatever background) introduced into those establishments: the employers, in this instance, to avoid the scale and conditions of a union contract; and the

¹Kezer, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

union, to eliminate the competitive threat expressed by its official, even at the cost of not organizing a number of workers in their own industry.

B. The Employers

1. Restaurants

According to Kezer, the employers' trade association in the restaurant field (which does the collective bargaining for about 300 member firms) would not give its cooperation in the study of upgrading problems in the industry. The association executive told him, "I think you are trying to stir up something which doesn't need to be stirred up." He said he could not understand why a study such as this needed to be undertaken.¹

Data from restaurant employers were obtained by interviewing the personnel officers or other officers familiar with employment practices in three restaurant chains operating a total of some 40 restaurants. Of a total of 1,600 workers, about 250 (16 per cent or approximately one-sixth) were nonwhite. However, only 16 (6 per cent) of these minority workers had jobs higher than dishwashers. These 16 upgraded workers included 6 Negro cooks, 1 Chinese chef, 3 Filipino cooks, 5 Filipino cooks' helpers, and 1 Filipino commissary manager. At none of the restaurants were Negroes, Orientals, or Filipinos employed as waitresses or food-servers or in any other job in contact with the public. One of the restaurant chains employed no Negro cooks, and a second employed just one. The admitted policy of both was against taking Negroes in that capacity.

At the first restaurant chain, 175 Negroes (14 per cent of the total) were employed out of a staff of 1,225 in San Francisco. Only 5 of the 175 Negroes were in upgraded jobs as cooks -- 4 female and 1 male. The remaining 170 Negroes were dishwashers. In upgraded jobs, 2 Orientals were cooks, and 5 Filipinos were cooks' helpers. Asked why there were no Negro waitresses, the personnel man said that the Negro women who came to work there were not qualified for such a higher job. He explained that in his view they were not able to do the quick computation that is required. When queried if anyone might object if Negroes were employed as waitresses, he believed there would be very few objections from workers or customers, and

¹Ibid., pp. 61-62.

that such complaints would come mostly from a few "cranks."

In the second restaurant chain, 35 to 40 Negroes worked as dishwashers and comprised about one-fifth of the total work force of approximately 175. There was 1 Negro busboy. The 4 Oriental workers (dishwashers and janitors) were about 2 per cent of the total. This company, interested in creating a "home cooking" atmosphere, selected employees who look like "the friendly girl next door from a nice family." They did not employ women who look like the "show girl" type or Oriental or Negro women as waitresses because such people, it was felt, would not fit in with the desired "homelike" atmosphere. The company therefore did not employ nonwhites in food-handling jobs. In these restaurants the cooks were seen by the public, so nonwhites were also excluded from this occupation.

According to the respondent, another problem in upgrading Negroes and Orientals was the company's feeling that they did not have the education required for some of the jobs. An example given was that the cooks and bakers prepared foods according to rather complex formulas requiring great precision, and nonwhites were regarded as being unable to do such precise work. On the point as to who might object if Negroes and Orientals were employed in "visible jobs" or serving the public, the respondent gave the same reply as the first employer -- very few objections were expected from either customers or employers, and the few complainers, it was assumed, would probably be "cranks."

In the third restaurant chain (which also had a number of restaurants in a state where there is an FEPC), the employment policy was determined in San Francisco. This policy was apparently based in large measure on one experience the company had had. About two or three years ago a Negro worker was promoted to assistant manager of one restaurant. According to the informant, this man met with so much customer and employee opposition -- which management was either unable or unwilling to control -- that they felt obliged to transfer him to a downgraded position of cook. After a long period, according to the respondent, the customers became used to this Negro as a cook, and the other employees now accepted him as a regular part of the staff. But the company felt it would need much persuasion before sending in another Negro as a cook. As for work performance, the management, in rating its few nonwhite employees, said it was more satisfactory than that of other workers.

Of 200 employees in the San Francisco branch of this chain, there were 2 Negroes (a cook and a supply man), and 1 Filipino man in charge of the commissary. It was considered impractical to put Negroes in counter jobs because

it was felt the public would object and threaten to take their business elsewhere. Management assumed the customers would dislike not only being served by Negroes, but also having their food cooked by them, as the cooks were in public view. The respondent thought Negro girls might not be acceptable for jobs as waitresses because they would be regarded as outside their customary work sphere. Negroes, in the view of this restaurant management, could be utilized only in "behind-the-scene" jobs.

The resistance of this company to placing Negroes in upgraded jobs was not due to any lack of confidence in their ability or work performance, but apparently to the fear that their business might suffer if customers objected and that some employees might react adversely. The one experience where a Negro had been accepted in an upgraded job, after some time, had not encouraged the management to expand this integration even though it was well pleased with his performance. On the contrary, the initial difficulties encountered with this first experience were cited as justification for desisting from hiring Negroes for counter jobs or where they could be seen by the public. Apparently almost no Negroes were hired, even in "back-of-the-house" jobs.

The restaurant operators gave various explanations of why so few minority workers were in upgraded positions. The three respondents often attached different weights to some factors, and with some inconsistencies:

a. The problem of public pressure and "customer resistance." -- The three management men mentioned this as an important factor. One of them argued that it was not "traditional" in San Francisco for Negroes to hold jobs as cooks, waiters, and waitresses, and the public was not ready to accept this. A business agent in a culinary union, commenting on this point, said it was ironical that people traveling by railroad would accept without question or complaint service by Negro chefs and stewards in the dining car. Yet when these passengers went into a restaurant, some of them would object to being served or having their food prepared by Negroes. The other two restaurant employers (who did not hire Negroes as food-servers or in other jobs where they could be seen by the public) anticipated very few objections from the public, and only from some "cranks," if such hiring were to take place. Even so, there apparently remained just enough fear or uncertainty on these points to immobilize these employers with regard to merit hiring.

b. The education of minority workers, especially Negroes, was generally considered inadequate for upgraded jobs as cooks or waiters. -- Ability to

cook with complicated measurements and formulas or to compute rapidly and accurately when serving customers were mentioned by two respondents as requirements which Negroes were usually unable to meet. Yet one of these respondents had five Negro cooks who did their work quite well. And a third respondent regarded the performance of his Negro and Filipino employees in upgraded jobs as more satisfactory than that of other workers.

While the explanation was given that Negroes generally lacked education for upgraded jobs, there seemed to be differential treatment between white and nonwhite workers on this point. Kezer analyzed the educational level of a random sample of 1,064 members (approximately a quarter of the total membership) of a restaurant union which included headwaiters and captains, managers and assistant managers, waiters, busboys, supply men, and other jobs.¹ Since only 25 members were Negro and practically none of them were waiters, it was not possible to make comparisons with them; and furthermore, racial identification was not given in the records. Of 377 white waiters in the sample, their schooling was as follows:

<u>Education</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
No formal education	8	2
Grammar school	130	35
High school	192	51
College	<u>47</u>	<u>12</u>
Total	377	100

Thus over a third (35 per cent) of the white waiters had only a grammar school education, and 2 per cent had no formal education. Limited schooling did not prevent many white workers from becoming waiters, but apparently was cited as a justification for not upgrading nonwhites into such jobs. The "type-casting" of Filipinos as busboys even if they have high school education or better, was suggested by the fact that in the sample of 1,064 waiters only 2 were identified as Filipinos; but of 47 Filipino busboys about half had at least high school education (21, high school; 3, college).

c. Union policies which did not motivate restaurant owners to upgrade Negroes. -- Data on this point are given in the preceding chapter on union practices. An example of another problem in this field is that a dishwasher or cook's helper cannot perform -- or learn -- any of a cook's functions without union clearance and the union scale. If a worker (minority or non-

¹Ibid., p. 89.

minority) desires to learn how to cook, he must acquire his training elsewhere than on the job. There are few cook's apprenticeships for anyone, and while the union evidently does not have any restrictions, very few openings with employers seem available for minority persons.

d. Lack of interest of minority workers, or "They don't apply for upgraded jobs." Some respondents in management and unions said that minority workers did not apply for the upgraded jobs; or, if they were working in a lower-level job, made no effort to prepare or apply for a better one. This seems part of the "vicious circle," a process of accommodation, whereby some minority persons feel it is futile to prepare or apply for a job if one is given to understand there is little likelihood of getting it, no matter how well qualified the individual may be.

e. "Atmosphere." Another reason given for either keeping nonwhite restaurant employees out of sight or not hiring them was the presumed inconsistency of their presence with the demands of "atmosphere" or "front." There may be considerable question, however, as to how consistent most San Francisco restaurants are at present in this respect -- whether, for example, specified national ancestry, identifiable physical type, or particular linguistic ability are required in "French," "German," "smorgasbord," or tropical-motif establishments. Then, too, the "atmosphere" standard may cut the other way, barring Caucasians from visible positions in certain restaurants. It would be risky to generalize on this question, other than to suggest that under an industry-wide merit hiring policy what would constitute bona fide occupational qualifications would probably vary from one establishment to another and would not include race, color, or religion, per se.

f. Fear of resistance of white employees to upgrading of nonwhites. This was mentioned both by some employers and some union officials. It involved the aspect of competition for jobs, as when a union head said the admission of nonwhites might result in loss of jobs for white members. Some respondents feared the introduction of nonwhite workers into jobs not "traditional" for them in San Francisco would result in friction, cliques, weakening of team spirit, etc. One respondent in management thought that white waitresses would tend to look down on a Negro girl who entered a sphere of work not usual for her group. There seemed to be an implication that the entry of Negroes would cause the white workers to feel the status and prestige of their own jobs had been lowered. The aspect of status was also involved in the resistance to having nonwhites placed in upgraded jobs, especially

in supervisory or managerial jobs.

g. Past experience as determining a person's potential ability in the eyes of the employer.-- A worker whose past experience has been wholly or primarily in unskilled or semiskilled work is often "typed" as being adept only for jobs of that level. He may find it difficult to be considered for upgraded jobs or to get training on the job or elsewhere for acquiring greater skills. An example of a whole minority group being thus categorized is Filipinos, who are regarded as highly adept as busboys but often are not considered for any upgraded jobs. Employers of Negroes, Chinese, and Filipinos in this service industry frequently spoke very favorably of these workers in lower-level jobs, but generally did not consider them for higher-level jobs. In the few instances where nonwhites in this industry had been upgraded, their employers usually rated their work performance as quite satisfactory. Nevertheless, in many job situations the past experience of the nonwhite worker as an individual, and the employers' conception of traditional roles for nonwhite workers in general, appeared to intertwine with restrictive effect.

The result often was to avoid giving the nonwhite worker opportunities and incentives for increased skills and upgraded jobs in this service industry. The thinking on this point by some employers and union officials seemed to be circular. In culinary trades (as in many other fields) the fact that most minority workers had held menial and unskilled jobs was cited as "proof" of incapacity for higher-level jobs. This overlooks the point that the minority persons have often been barred from upgraded jobs or lacked opportunity and incentive to acquire skills and training for such employment.

2. The Hotel Operators

Representatives of five large hotels were interviewed. A substantial number of minority workers were found in four of these hotels; in one there were practically no such employees. Of a combined total of more than 2,600 workers in the five hotels, over 1,000 (almost 40 per cent) were Negro, and more than 525 (about one-fifth) were Chinese, Filipino, and Latin American. Thus almost three-fifths of the employees were minority-group members, and the great majority of these were nonwhite. The Negro and Filipino workers were almost all employed in menial, "back-of-the-house," unskilled service jobs such as charwomen and chambermaids, for the Negro women; and busboys, for Fili-

pino men. They were not employed in any public-contact or upgraded jobs such as desk clerks, waiters, waitresses, bartenders, or clerical workers. Actually, the general practice in these hotels was not to employ Negroes in upgraded jobs such as cooks even though these are not jobs seen by the public. While most Chinese employees were also in lower-level jobs, a relatively small proportion had some upgraded jobs in a few hotels where "atmosphere" was desired, such as elevator operators, waiters, and waitresses. There were also several Chinese employed as assistant desk clerks.

Many of the explanations given by restaurant employers for not upgrading minority workers were also given by these hotel operators, with some differences in emphasis and some additional factors mentioned by the latter. They made the following claims:

Claim 1. That minority workers don't apply for jobs outside their accepted work spheres. Several respondents praised the nonwhite workers as very satisfactory for the jobs in which they were now employed. The employers regarded the low level of aspiration of some of their minority workers as a "plus" factor for job stability. One respondent saw Negroes as the "last servant class" in America, and deplored the fact that this class is dwindling. Another respondent regarded the Filipino as the best type of busboy because of his job performance and because "Filipinos don't all want to be waiters as whites do -- they're happy as busboys"; turnover is consequently not nearly so great as it is with other groups.

At the same time that the respondents offered the explanation that minority workers don't apply for upgraded jobs, they also stated that Negroes would not be hired for any public-contact jobs. (A union respondent in this industry had indicated that it was pointless to refer Negroes to such jobs in hotels because they would not be hired anyway.) No respondents seemed to recognize anything paradoxical in citing, on the one hand, lack of applications from nonwhites as a reason for their not being in upgraded positions, and on the other hand acknowledging that nonwhites would not be considered in any event for certain positions. The question may be raised as to whether the hotels which employed nonwhites only in low-level service jobs feared that if they were to upgrade these workers, a hard-to-fill labor vacuum might result at those levels.

The assumption that the nonwhite workers in hotels are "happy" doing the most menial jobs may also be open to question. Some data on this point

were obtained in a recent survey, by a culinary trades union local, of Negro members in unskilled jobs such as dishwashers. Of 312 Negro women in the local (about 40 per cent of the Negro women in that union), 98 per cent either had other skills which they wanted to use or wanted training in some particular field, while 2 per cent (6 respondents) were "happy" in their dishwashing jobs. Over a quarter (85) gave the field of nursing as their first preference of what they would like to do if given a choice; next in rank were cook and cook's helper (44 responses), seamstress (40), school-teacher (18), waitress (10), and various others, including sales and clerical work. It was not necessary that a person have experience in the work preferred, as a condition of responding; in many cases, however, the respondents had worked previously at the jobs indicated. In interviews with Negro men a fairly similar division was also found to exist.¹ A negligible percentage of nonwhites indicated job satisfaction and being "happy" in their unskilled jobs; there was no evidence to support the viewpoint of the hotel management respondents in this matter.

Claim 2. That public reaction prevents employing Negroes in public-contact jobs such as desk positions. Most of the hotel respondents stressed this point. One said the public would object to being dunned for bills by a Negro, or to having a minority person listen to their complaints or refuse them any service. One hotel respondent said his establishment had guests from all over the world, yet opposed nonwhites for many of these public-contact jobs on the grounds that this would not be in keeping with the "true atmosphere" of San Francisco. Another response which was characteristic of most was that the hotel was trying to maintain its "high class" prestige, and this would suffer if Negroes "represented" the hotel. These aspects of social stratification and elite-consciousness were stressed even more by hotel management than by restaurants. The idea of ethnic stratification, with nonwhites in a position inferior to whites, was a related theme.

Claim 3. That supervisory positions are controlled by whites who often are not particularly friendly to Negro and Oriental workers, unless in menial jobs. The point was made by several respondents that white workers would resent nonwhites in supervisory positions. No respondent expressed what appeared to be implied also: the increased job competition if nonwhites should achieve access to supervisory positions. One personnel director indicated the fear

¹Ibid., p. 26.

that too much education would diminish the "servant class," referring to Negro and Oriental domestic and service workers. Such a viewpoint is, of course, hardly conducive to regarding nonwhites on merit for upgraded positions. This response has an aspect which differentiates it from comments by other respondents who, in practically every instance, took great pains to indicate that they themselves and their management were not prejudiced and did not discriminate against anyone, but that the responsibility lay elsewhere -- in community attitudes and traditions, customer resistance, lack of minority applicants, and similar explanations.

In speaking about their minority employees in the unskilled jobs, the respondents stressed their favorable and friendly regard for "the fine work record of our Negro [or Chinese, or Filipino] employees." The less sympathetic and favorable viewpoint, attributed to "others" in supervisory positions, appeared to have as a basis the implicit notion that if certain people kept their traditional place, everybody would be happy and friendly, but any attempt at change (as by upgrading minority workers) would produce conflict, friction, and job competition. The absence of either an explicit merit policy (although the respondents usually claimed to have an implicit policy) or evidence that management had seriously attempted an integration policy may explain some of the conflict between the views expressed by the respondents and those attributed to others in supervisory positions. No respondents indicated that they or anyone else in management did anything, or deemed it advisable to do anything, if a supervisor refused to hire or upgrade any minority person.

Claim 4. That minority workers lack qualifications for upgrading. Many of the respondents mentioned this as an important factor, some referring to the low level of aspiration of minority workers. The hotel operators (and one union official in this field) claimed that the employers promote on the basis of ability, interest, and personal bearing, as the case may require -- not on the basis of race. Yet when asked for details as to qualifications for certain jobs, the respondents often discussed items clearly not related to these stated performance and personality criteria. Moreover, lack of "qualifications" as the stated reason for not upgrading nonwhites assumes doubtful validity when we recall that all the respondents held the view that they could not place these employees, whatever their individual abilities, in public-contact positions. It is clear that this consideration, not the question of qualifications, governs those upgraded jobs which involve some

degree of public visibility.

As for the relation of educational qualifications to promotional opportunities, it appears that hotel management practice is similar to that encountered in restaurants. Although many employees, both white and nonwhite, have limited formal education, this factor does not necessarily disqualify white workers for upgrading whereas it is cited as a reason for the failure of nonwhites to move up the employment ladder. In the hotels many jobs fall within semiskilled categories. Yet nonwhites with equivalent or greater education and training than that of some white employees evidently do not enjoy equal consideration in upgrading.

C. Conclusions

Analysis of the practices of unions and employers in the hotel and restaurant industry indicates that nonwhite workers are generally employed in jobs that are unskilled, on the lowest level of the occupational hierarchy, and "behind the scenes." In this type of job, which white workers often reject, nonwhites have tended to fill the "labor vacuum" as white workers (including earlier European immigrants and their native-born children) have moved upward. In upgraded jobs and in those involving public contact, Negro and Filipino workers (and to a lesser degree, Chinese) have great difficulty obtaining employment or promotion; for them, positions such as cook, waiter, waitress, bartender, desk clerk, clerical worker, or elevator operator, have been extremely difficult or impossible to obtain. Many Chinese, too, have great difficulty in obtaining such employment, with occasional exceptions such as establishments desiring to maintain an Oriental "atmosphere."

Limitations in upgrading for nonwhite workers in this service industry seem to be related to three major factors:

1. The restrictive practices of many employers.
2. The failure of some unions to promote upgrading opportunities for nonwhites. The unions in this field range from several at one extreme which practice integration and endeavor to promote equal opportunities for minority workers, to one at the other extreme which virtually excludes nonwhites, contrary to the stated policy of the union's international. Between these two extremes are several unions which admit nonwhite members but have made relatively little effort to stimulate upgrading of these members.

3. The absence of incentives among some minority workers in this industry to train for or press for upgraded positions. This appears to stem in part from long-standing employer and union practices which are known to limit job opportunities for nonwhites, and in part from inadequate vocational guidance or training opportunity.

Here again the vicious circle appears. Absence of clear merit policy in referral, hiring, and upgrading leads nonwhites to assume it is futile to train or to press for trainee-type jobs which would better qualify them for upgrading; while employers point to the apparent lack of motivation and qualification for higher-level positions, and feel little or no pressure to open such opportunities without regard to race.

Chapter VII. ROLE OF PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

A. The Sample

Twenty-eight managers of private employment agencies were interviewed during September and October, 1955. There were 82 placement agencies with San Francisco addresses listed in the classified section of the telephone book. But if we exclude public agencies, those identifying themselves with some ethnic minority group, and those specializing in domestic and service worker placement, this leaves 45 private employment agencies which handle clerical, sales, managerial; technical, professional, and related jobs. The 28 agencies interviewed were selected by random sampling from the list of 45, and represent 62 per cent, or almost two-thirds, of the total. The sample includes both members and nonmembers of the local trade association of employment agencies. There were three refusals to be interviewed, about one-tenth of the total of 31 agencies selected..

In addition to these 28 interviews with managers of general private agencies, there were five others: with the owner-manager of a downtown agency with considerable experience in trying to place Negro and Oriental workers; with an agency employee having extensive experience with Jewish applicants; with the owner-manager of an "ethnic" employment agency which was identifiable by its name and address as being Oriental; with a Negro clerical worker who was a recent applicant at various downtown employment agencies; and with an employer who reported his experiences when he called several agencies. Some supplementary information was also obtained from organizations serving minority-group members.

The estimates given by the employment agencies in almost all instances were approximations and were not based on any statistical records.

B. The Application Blanks Used by Private Employment Agencies

Of the 28 agencies in the sample, 17 (60.7 per cent) included questions of race, religion, or national origin on their application blanks; 8 (28.6 per cent) included none of these. Three agencies gave no answer. Of agencies which included the questions, 15 (53.6 per cent of the sample) requested information on national origin; 12 (42.8 per cent), on religion; and 6 (21.4 per cent), on race.

An analysis of 19 private employment agencies in the San Francisco downtown area by a state agency in March, 1951 revealed an almost identical percentage of employment agencies asking such questions.¹ Eleven out of 19 agencies included them; 8 of these included both "nationality" and "religion"; 2 inquired about "nationality" only; and 1, "religion" only. Other words used were "descent" and "lineage." "Nationality" is commonly interpreted in these circles as calling for identification either by race or by national origin.

In May, 1951 the San Francisco Citizens Committee for Equal Employment Opportunity reported a check of 21 of 27 private employment agencies which in May, 1950 had given written assurance of compliance with a recommendation of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors that all questions concerning ethnic identification be dropped from application forms. Seven of the 21 agencies which said they had complied had not done so; they were still asking questions about "nationality" or "religion."²

Deletion of references to race, religion, or national origin from an application form would seem to be the simplest step in outward compliance with the principle of merit employment. This change of itself does not assure nondiscriminatory service and referral, nor does it preclude coding or notations by interviewers. Yet the evidence suggests that even in respect to this surface compliance, there was little if any modification in the intervening period of more than four years.

Of the agencies interviewed, 3 did not give information about their application forms, and 8 stated that they did not include questions of race, religion, or national origin on their forms. These 11 agencies were asked, "What information about any of these items is noted on applicant's record by the interviewer, as a result of either questioning, observation, or assumptions regarding his name?" Six said they made no notation but remembered which applicant was a minority-group member. One of these pointed out that since minority applicants are so rare, they can be remembered. Another respondent said he tried to remember if the applicant had the characteristics of a minority -- as for example, "an obviously Jewish man." Four respondents said they made some notation or coding if the applicant was a minority person. One did not answer.

¹Letter from Division of Labor Law Enforcement, California Department of Industrial Relations, to Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco, April 5, 1951.

²Richard Dettering, Fair Employment for San Francisco?, Transcript of Testimony before San Francisco Board of Supervisors, May 14, 1951, p. 9.

As the following table shows, all but one of the 28 responding agencies reported that they either included questions as to race, religion, or national origin on the application forms, or made a notation to this effect, or remembered if the applicant was a minority-group member. The one respondent excepted gave no answer on these points. In sum, not one of these 28 agencies even claimed to be wholly uninterested in racial or religious identification of the job-seekers who come to them.

TABLE 41. PRACTICES OF IDENTIFICATION OF APPLICANTS BY
RACE, RELIGION, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN:
28 PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES IN SAN FRANCISCO, 1955

Practice of Agency	Number of Agencies	Per Cent of Agencies Interviewed
Includes questions as to race, religion, or national origin on application form	17	60.7
Interviewer makes notation if applicant is of minority identity	4	14.3
Interviewer "remembers" minority applicants	6	21.4
No answer	1	3.6
Total	28	100.0

C. The Minority Applicants at Private Employment Agencies

The data from the 28 employment agencies suggest that Negroes are under-represented among applicants in relation to the proportion which Negro workers bear to the total work force. On the average, about 3 per cent of the applicants were Negro, according to these agencies, whereas the Negro workers comprised approximately 6 per cent of the work force in the San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Area. Seventeen agencies reported that their Negro applicants ranged from none to 2 per cent; at the other end of the range, one respondent estimated 15 per cent.

Regarding the number of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino applicants, many respondents said they could not give estimates for each of these groups separately, and lumped them into one category, Orientals. On the average, these job-seekers were reported as comprising about 6 per cent of all applicants registered with the private employment agencies. The data suggest that Oriental workers apply in about the same proportion as they constitute in the total work force.

Twenty-two of the 28 employment agencies were able to make some estimate about the number of Mexican or other Latin American applicants (respondents often included all persons of Spanish surname in their estimate). The average was about 2 per cent. The proportion of Mexican American applicants seemed to approximate their percentage in the work force.

Seventeen (60.7 per cent) of the agencies reported that they could not make an estimate concerning their Jewish applicants. For the 11 which answered, the estimates averaged approximately 5 per cent.

Interviewing the employment agency managers afforded a limited opportunity to observe directly the number of nonwhite applicants for placement at the time of the observation. Nonwhite applicants were seen in only four (14.3 per cent) of the agencies; the total number seen was 7 women -- 3 Negro and 4 Oriental. These nonwhite applicants comprised only a fraction of 1 per cent of the total number of applicants. The observation suggests the possibility of some overestimation of the number of nonwhite applicants reported by the agencies.

There appear to be a number of factors which account for the relatively small proportion of Negro applicants on the private agency lists. Some agencies discourage or do not accept nonwhite applicants, especially Negroes. Some of these agencies refer them to the State Department of Employment, to employment agencies more or less specializing in certain ethnic groups, or to social agencies. By a process of accommodation, it seems that many nonwhite workers feel there is little point of applying at private agencies since their experience or that of friends indicates that they will not be placed. Since the customary practice is for the job-seeker to pay the agency fee, some nonwhite workers may be reluctant to pay a fee where they feel the nature of the service and the job opportunity might be limited.

The Malm labor market survey of the Bay Area showed the distribution of employers in the San Francisco Bay Area who used private employment agencies

to recruit employees.¹ A total of 340 employers were interviewed.

TABLE 42. EXTENT TO WHICH EMPLOYERS USE PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES
IN RECRUITING VARIOUS TYPES OF WORKERS^a

Type of Worker	Number of Employers Responding	Per Cent of Respondents Using Private Employment Agencies
Clerical	323	62
Management and professional	310	22
Sales	215	20
Manual	284	8

^aSource: F. Theodore Malm, "Recruiting Patterns and the Functioning of Labor Markets," Reprint No. 60, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley, 1954, pp. 510, 513-15.

A number of the private agencies indicated that it generally takes more time and effort on their part to place nonwhites than whites in the jobs commonly handled -- primarily clerical work. A much smaller proportion of Negroes than of whites are in clerical jobs, and Negroes are often discouraged from training for such work. Negro clerical workers frequently believe it is futile to apply at private employment agencies because of expected restrictive practices both on the part of the agencies and employers in private industry. When Negroes obtain clerical jobs, this often occurs at government agencies. These factors are apparently involved in the relatively low proportion of Negro applicants at private employment agencies.

D. Employers' Preferences Regarding Minority Workers

Only one-half of the employment agencies estimated what percentage of the employers they dealt with had preferences or limitations regarding applicants' race, religion, or national origin. Those answering generally estimated that the great majority of employers with whom they were in contact

¹F. Theodore Malm, "Recruiting Patterns and the Functioning of Labor Markets," Reprint No. 60, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley, 1954, pp. 510, 513-15.

had such restrictions:

<u>Per Cent of Employers Reported to Have Restrictions on Applicants' Race, Religion, or National Origin</u>	<u>Number of Agencies Reporting</u>
Almost all	3
90-98	3
75-85	4
60-67	4
<u>Total</u>	<u>14</u>

The respondent who estimated that two-thirds of the employers he dealt with had restrictions said, "This depends on the job. In jobs requiring face-to-face contact with the public, about two-thirds of the employers had restrictions; but for other jobs about 15 per cent of the employers have such practices." One response was, "Large majority stop at Negro -- toughest to solve." Another was, "Can't say; wouldn't come up often enough."

Employers placing job orders commonly do not state restrictive specifications; frequently there seems to be a tacit understanding by the employment agency that nonwhites will not be referred. When specifications on race, religion, or national origin are made, these are rarely communicated to the employment agency in writing or in face-to-face contact. Eighteen respondents (almost two-thirds) said these specifications were transmitted often by phone, and 2 said sometimes. Fourteen (half) said there was often tacit understanding about specifications based on past experiences with employers, and 2 said there was sometimes such tacit understanding.

If an employment agency has a well-qualified minority applicant and does not know the policy of a given employer who has placed a job order, the employer is sometimes called and told there is a well-qualified Negro (or other minority) applicant. At this point the agency is often told specifically about restrictions; and in order to please the employer-client the agency later remembers and abides by his antiminority limitations. However, it seems that many private employment agencies "take for granted" that most employers will not accept Negroes and that many will not hire other minority applicants. A number of agencies also pointed out that it takes too much effort and time to find some employers who will consider nonwhite applicants. In many cases it seems to be regarded as futile and as wasted time and effort for all concerned -- for the agency, the employer, and the minority applicant -- to try to make such referrals and placements.

E. Relative Difficulty in Placing Minority Applicants

These private employment agencies were asked to give estimates (a) as to the relative difficulty which well-qualified minority applicants had in getting various jobs and (b) as to prevailing hiring practices in the industries with which they dealt. The answers given were generally incomplete, partly because many agencies handled certain types of jobs only and dealt primarily with certain types of industries, and also because many agencies had few minority applicants to whom service was given. Another point is that for some groups, notably the Jewish and Latin American, identification is sometimes difficult. The job category for which the most complete data were available was "clerical, female"; such employment is a substantial part of the placement service in most agencies. It was not possible in all cases to get a breakdown by sex, but for the Oriental applicants it appeared that generally women encountered less difficulty in securing employment than men.

The data on Filipinos are too limited for statistical analysis. There are relatively few Filipino women in the labor market. Although some respondents said they included Filipinos among Orientals, the information suggested that for the types of jobs usually handled by the private employment agencies, difficulties of the Filipinos seemed much closer to those of Negroes than to those of other Orientals.

The minority group which was reported most frequently as having great difficulties in placement was the Negro; the next in rank was Oriental, where for many jobs, especially office jobs for women, there was much less difficulty; the third was Latin American. The Jewish group was rarely mentioned as having difficulty.

Seven employment agencies reported that well-qualified Negro applicants had great difficulty obtaining professional jobs. Seven agencies thought they had great difficulty getting semiprofessional jobs, and 1 believed they had some difficulty. Eight agencies said Negroes had great difficulty getting managerial and supervisory jobs. In clerical work, where the employment agencies do most of their placement, the data were most complete -- 14 estimated that well-qualified Negro applicants had great difficulty, and 8 estimated they had some difficulty. For sales jobs, 5 respondents mentioned great difficulty, and 2 said some difficulty. One agency which also placed nurses said well-qualified Negro nurses had great difficulty being placed.

For well-qualified Oriental applicants, the data suggest the greatest difficulty in managerial and supervisory jobs, which are usually held by men. Seven agencies thought Orientals had great difficulty and 1 said they had some difficulty getting such jobs. While some of the agencies thought there were great difficulties for other jobs, a larger number of respondents thought they had some difficulties, and a smaller number believed they had no difficulty. For professional jobs, 1 agency reported great difficulty, 3 some difficulty, and 3 no difficulty. For semiprofessional jobs, 6 thought there was some difficulty and 2 that there was no difficulty. For clerical jobs, there seemed quite a range, suggesting diversified experience in placing Oriental applicants and the possibility of restrictions still remaining in a number of firms. Three respondents said they had great difficulty, 9 said some difficulty, and 9 said there was no difficulty. An agency which included nurse placement said that Oriental nurses had some difficulty.

Regarding well-qualified Latin American applicants, the data were incomplete but suggest that they often still face problems in getting clerical jobs. Two respondents reported great difficulty, 11 estimated some difficulty, and 3 no difficulty. For managerial and supervisory jobs, 6 agencies said there was great difficulty and 1 said some difficulty. One respondent mentioned great difficulty for semiprofessional jobs, 2 said some difficulty, and 1 said no difficulty. Only 1 respondent referred to professional jobs, indicating no difficulty. For sales jobs, 3 agencies estimated great difficulty and 3 said there was some difficulty for well-qualified Latin American applicants.

For well-qualified Jewish applicants the responses were quite incomplete, and no respondent estimated they had great difficulty for any type of job handled by the agency. There was the suggestion that for managerial and supervisory and semiprofessional jobs there was sometimes a problem, and occasionally for clerical jobs also. Four agencies said Jewish applicants had some difficulty getting managerial and supervisory jobs and 1 said there was no difficulty. Three agencies estimated some difficulty in semiprofessional jobs and 2 thought there was no difficulty. For clerical jobs, 2 agencies said there was some difficulty and 5 thought there was none. Four agencies said well-qualified Jewish applicants had no difficulty getting sales jobs.

The employment agencies were asked to give estimates, for the industries with which they had contact, as to hiring practices affecting well-qualified minority workers. The respondents were familiar mainly with the types of jobs

handled by their agencies and therefore rarely referred to other job categories which might exist in a given industry. The responses here were limited for some industries; this was partly due to the fact that some industries do all or most of their hiring "at the gate" or through unions, and not through private employment agencies. The public utilities appeared to be an example.

The industries which, in the reported experience of these agencies, appeared to offer the greatest resistance to Negro workers were finance, insurance, and retail trade, and, to a somewhat lesser degree, wholesale trade, manufacturing, and construction. Regarding financial institutions, 9 agencies said these firms seldom or never hired Negroes, and 7 said that Negroes were hired for certain jobs only. Five agencies said that retail establishments seldom or never hired Negroes, and 6 that they were hired for certain jobs only. Four agencies estimated that in wholesale trade Negroes were seldom or never hired, and 4 that they were hired for certain jobs only. In insurance, 5 respondents said Negroes were seldom or never hired, and 5 that they were hired for certain jobs only. In manufacturing and construction, 3 respondents thought Negroes were seldom or never hired, and 5 that they were hired for certain jobs only. Two respondents stated that in their experience health, welfare, and educational institutions seldom or never hired Negroes, and 5 said they were hired for certain jobs only. Five employment agencies said that service industries hired Negroes for certain jobs only. In transportation and communications, 1 respondent said that Negroes were seldom or never hired, and 4 that they were hired for certain jobs only. Two respondents reported that real estate firms seldom or never hired Negroes. One respondent, who mentioned his unsuccessful attempts to refer well-qualified Negro clerical workers to a communications industry which advertised various job openings, thought that Negroes were seldom or never hired there. Two employment agencies which handled some specialized placements indicated that Negroes were seldom or never hired for those fields -- one was advertising and the other, construction engineering.

Regarding placement of Oriental workers in various industries, the fields which, according to employment agencies, present the greatest obstacles were finance, insurance, wholesale and retail trade, and, to a lesser degree, transportation, communications, manufacturing, and construction. According to 13 respondents, financial institutions hired Orientals for certain jobs only,

and 2 respondents said that Orientals were seldom or never hired. Eleven reported that insurance companies hired Orientals for certain jobs only, and 1 that they were seldom or never hired. Ten respondents believed that retail trade establishments hired them for certain jobs only, and 2 that they were seldom or never hired.

Nine agencies said that wholesale trade establishments hired Orientals for certain jobs only, and 1 said seldom or never. In transportation and communications there were 8 respondents who said Orientals were hired for certain jobs only. Six agencies stated that manufacturing and construction firms hired Orientals for certain jobs only, and 2 estimated that they were hired for all types of jobs in those industries. According to 4 respondents, health, welfare, and educational institutions employed Orientals for certain jobs only, and 1 said they were seldom or never hired. Three respondents reported that in service industries they were hired for certain jobs only. Two employment agencies with some specialized placements, one in advertising and one in construction engineering, reported that in those fields Orientals were hired for certain jobs only.

For Latin American workers, the industries where obstacles were most often mentioned were finance, wholesale and retail trade, insurance, manufacturing, and construction. Eight employment agencies said that financial institutions hired Latin Americans for certain jobs only, and 4 said they were seldom or never hired. In retail trade, 7 indicated they were hired for certain jobs only, and 2 said seldom or never. In wholesale trade, there were 6 responses that they were hired for certain jobs only, and 2 for seldom or never. Six respondents said insurance firms hired Latin Americans for certain jobs only, and 1 said seldom or never; the same estimates were reported for manufacturing and construction. In transportation and communications, 3 agencies said they were hired for certain jobs only. Regarding health, welfare, and educational institutions, 2 respondents said Latin Americans were hired for all types of jobs, 2 said for certain jobs only, and 1 said seldom or never. One respondent said that in public utilities they were hired for certain jobs only. The one respondent referring to service industries said that they were hired for all types of jobs.

Finance, wholesale and retail trade, and transportation and communications were the industries mentioned as presenting some problems for Jews. Four respondents said that financial institutions hired Jews for certain jobs only, and 1 said they were seldom or never hired. In wholesale trade, there

were 4 responses that Jews were hired for certain jobs only, and 3 that they were hired for all types of jobs. In retail trade, 3 agencies reported they were hired for certain jobs only, and 5 said for all types of jobs. According to 3 agencies, they were hired only for certain jobs in transportation and communications, and 1 said they were hired for all types of jobs. In the fields of insurance; manufacturing; construction; health, welfare, and education; and service industries, there was 1 respondent for each, reporting that Jewish workers were hired for certain types of jobs only, and 1 respondent for each, who reported they were hired for all types of jobs.

While the foregoing statistical data are incomplete and based on impressions of somewhat over half of the respondents, they give the employment agencies' estimates of the relative difficulties which well-qualified Negro, Oriental, Latin American, and Jewish men and women have in getting jobs. Some respondents pointed out that there are occasions when well-qualified nonminority applicants also have difficulties. However, no respondent indicated this to be the case for nonminority women. For nonminority men, only 1 respondent said for certain jobs there were great difficulties, and 3 respondents said there were some difficulties.

For Negro men, out of 13 responses, none said there was no difficulty, 5 said there were some difficulties, and 8, great difficulty. For Negro women, out of 18 responses, none said that they had no difficulty, 7 said they had some difficulty, and 11 said they had great difficulty. These responses suggest that for the types of jobs handled by the employment agencies, there seems to be little difference in difficulty between Negro men and women. All the agencies answering the question indicated that well-qualified Negro men and women had some or great difficulty being placed in the jobs handled by the private employment agencies.

For Oriental men, out of 14 responses, 4 reported they had no difficulty; 7, some difficulty; and 3, great difficulty. Out of 19 responses concerning Oriental women, 7 said these women had no difficulty, 11 said some difficulty, and 1 respondent said they had great difficulty. The evidence suggests that for the kinds of jobs handled by employment agencies, Oriental men generally had more placement difficulty than women. While the problems for Oriental workers were less severe than for Negroes, the respondents who answered this question nevertheless said that the great majority of well-qualified Oriental men had some or great difficulty; over half

of those answering said that Oriental women had some difficulty, and 1 thought these women had great difficulty.

For Latin American men, out of 10 responses, none said these men had no difficulty, 8 said they had some difficulty, and 2 said great difficulty. For Latin American women, out of 16 responses, only 1 estimated these women had no difficulty, 12 said they had some difficulty, and 3 said great difficulty. For this group, there seemed to be little difference between men and women on this score. Compared to Negroes, Latin American applicants had less difficulty, but of those agencies which answered this question only 1 said that well-qualified Latin Americans had no difficulty. The great majority estimated that they had some difficulty, and a relatively small proportion thought they had great difficulty being placed.

F. The Effect of Agencies on Employer Policies

Several agency managers pointed out the limited role of the private employment agency in affecting the hiring practices of employers who do not want to hire minority workers, or hire them for certain jobs only, or follow quota practices. Even when an agency makes a strong effort to place minority workers, there is still a serious problem. The agencies generally recognize that their main function is to supply employers with workers according to their preferences, and that the agencies can do very little on their own to modify management policies.

Some agencies, nevertheless, make a sincere effort to locate jobs for minority applicants. One agency owner-manager indicated the frustrations and difficulties encountered by such applicants when his agency tries very earnestly to place them. In the months immediately preceding our interview this respondent had received an increasing number of well-qualified Negro applicants, especially young women. Some of these had attended junior college, many had business school training, and practically all had at least a high school education. In a three-month period seven or eight of these applicants, mainly women, were placed in clerical jobs. But despite the great demand for stenographers and secretaries there were many more, whom this agency manager considered well-qualified, who could not be placed. He estimated that it was possible for him to refer only about 5 per cent of his Negro applicants, as compared to about 75 per cent of white applicants in similar age brackets whom he could refer for clerical jobs.

Pointing to a sheaf of about 50 current job orders from financial institutions, insurance companies, automobile dealers, and other employers, this respondent estimated that there were hardly three to which he could refer qualified young Negro women applicants for clerical jobs. He reported that those clerical jobs which are obtained are often marginal, poorly paid, or temporary, so that these Negro applicants keep returning to the agency for service. Some of the Negro clerical workers, especially those over forty, have to take downgraded employment such as domestic or service industry work.

This agency manager usually endeavors to arrange an interview for the nonwhite applicant with an employer who has not made any restrictive specifications. In the advance telephone call he describes the individual job-seeker's qualifications and his racial or ethnic identification. (He believes that to refer the nonwhite applicant without preliminary interpretation to the employer would "only make matters worse," and waste the time of the employer, the applicant, and the agency.) In most cases where the applicant is Negro, the employer does not wish even to grant an interview -- often saying that he is in a small firm (or has a small work group in a large firm), that a Negro would not fit in, that the other girls in the office would object, or that the position is a visible one and customers might object.

Sometimes a personnel man for a company informs this placement agency that he has no objection to interviewing a Negro applicant, but that the supervisor of the particular department where the opening has occurred would object. There were several instances where a personnel man did interview a Negro applicant, referred him or her to the supervisor for final approval, and the supervisor declined to hire the applicant.

The manager of this employment agency has relatively little difficulty in placing Chinese or Japanese girls in offices, although the jobs obtained (as for Negro girls) are sometimes those regarded as less desirable by white clerical workers because of the relatively low salary scale, inconvenient hours, travel distance involved, or because the jobs are routine, such as typist or filing clerk, and ranked lower in the office hierarchy. While Oriental young women can usually obtain clerical jobs without much difficulty, Oriental men often encounter problems, especially in sales and other jobs involving public contact. There was an example of this on the day of our interview. An executive of a construction firm came to the employment

agency to request an accountant. The respondent said he had a well-qualified young man he would like to refer, and asked the employer if he would consider this applicant, who was Japanese American. The employer regretted that he could not consider an Oriental, although he disclaimed being prejudiced himself, citing the fact that he had hired some European refugees. The accountant's job involved sales contacts and dealing with customers, and was also a managerial job which might lead eventually to top management for the right man. The employer, therefore, would not even consider interviewing an Oriental, because he knew in advance that such a person "could not fit in."

This particular agency rarely receives any job orders with religious specifications, such as restrictions against Jews or Catholics. Occasionally, though, such restrictions are encountered. An illustration was given of a local manufacturing firm in heavy industry which, this agency understands, does not hire Catholics for any position.

This agency manager has noticed that some firms which hire Negroes and other minority workers do so on either a "token" or a quota basis. Such companies, however, do not advise the agency how they determine the quota or its percentage. Sometimes they inform the placement agency in general terms that their quota is filled or that they already have several Negro workers. The respondent believes that "token hiring" is done by some banks for branches in a district with heavy nonwhite population and where some pressure is felt to hire nonwhites; accordingly a very small number are hired in visible positions.

While it takes more time and effort to place Negro applicants, this placement executive says he does not mind trying because he considers it good business as well as a social obligation. However, he feels quite frustrated about his inability to place many Negro applicants, and the fact that those who are placed often keep returning because their jobs are temporary or marginal. He is baffled as to where to turn to find employers who will hire Negro workers. He is aware of how disturbing some of their job-seeking experiences must be to Negroes. Among younger applicants, when they first encounter job discrimination, the reactions vary: sometimes there is a somewhat aggressive attitude, or surprise and shock, or bitterness, or weakened self-confidence, or defeatism. Among the older applicants there is sometimes complete resignation.

Employer resistance, in the experience of this private employment agency informant, is usually not based on any expressed doubts about the technical

qualifications of Negro or Oriental applicants, but rather shifted to fears about their acceptance in the work force, especially in small work units, and to expected customer resistance. The assumption is made by some employers that it would be bad for business to put nonwhites in any "front" jobs where they would meet the public or in jobs with a public-relations aspect. In the numerous cases where employers refuse even to interview nonwhite applicants regarded as well-qualified by the employment agency, the employers are clearly unable or unwilling to assess the skills and qualifications of the particular individual. The respondent believes that if more employers would at least interview these minority-group members, this might help to change some of the stereotyped views held and might eventually result in consideration of applicants on their individual merits.

Few of the private employment agencies said they knew much about difficulties in placing Jewish applicants. The response was usually that Jewish workers had little or no difficulty getting employment. Several respondents pointed out that, although they rarely received from employers specifications against Jews, sometimes presumably well-qualified Jewish applicants were referred but were not employed.

Additional information concerning placement of Jewish job applicants came through an informal interview with a former agency employee (not one of the 28 reported above). This respondent's placement experience led her to the conclusion that employers who discriminate against Jews are likely to keep this covert. Yet this informant cited a number of instances where specific restrictive orders were given. Sometimes these orders were couched in indirect or disguised terminology. One employer, for example, asked that he be sent no "specials." When asked by the agency what this term meant, he explained it referred to Jews. The respondent believed that some employment agencies, like some employers, would be unlikely to indicate any restrictions on employing Jews. One of the apparent reasons for this concealment is the relatively strong position of Jews in the business and industrial life of the city. Also, there are more powerful social sanctions against admitting religious discrimination than against admitting racial restrictions. The respondent felt there is almost a taboo against talking about employment discrimination affecting Jews.

The agency in which this respondent had been working placed both men and women, and covered sales, office, clerical, medical, engineering, technician, construction, and administrative positions. Her own work was pri-

marily with female applicants for office jobs.

Some employers who contacted this agency gave specific orders that they did not want any Jews, but it was more common for employers with such practices to say, "We're a very fine Christian firm," or "Send us some nice, church-going girls." The respondent noted that on many occasions when she would refer several young women who seemed equally qualified, the Jewish girls among them would rarely be selected. If there were a Jewish applicant she thought was qualified for a job, the respondent would refer the individual without telling the employer anything about the girl's religion.

In this agency the procedure for referring Jews differed markedly from that for Negroes. If there were any Negro applicants whose cards were on file -- and these were relatively few -- the cards would be identified as Negro and placed in the inactive file. In no case would the Negro applicant be advised of any possible job openings. Since Negroes were hard to place, and the agency was anxious both to make its commission and not to offend the employer, it was considered pointless to refer Negroes to any openings. The respondent's personal belief was that most Negroes were lacking in qualifications for white-collar work and would do best in domestic and service-industry work. Such recurrent stereotypes about Negroes were also mentioned by a number of other respondents -- who in some cases identified these as the views of employers, and in some instances as being held by the respondent also. This particular respondent said she shared these views.

For Japanese and Chinese American applicants at this agency, there was a third procedure, differing from the one for Jews or that for Negroes. If an Oriental applied, and seemed qualified for a specific job, the agency's practice was to call the employer and say, "We have a very nice Chinese (or Japanese) girl we would like to send you for an interview;" then, if not rejected, the individual's qualifications would be cited.

Although no statistics on anti-Jewish restrictions were kept by this agency, our respondent estimated that about 25 per cent of their employer-clients exercise some such restrictions. She said that of these firms about 10 per cent express specific restrictions or use such terms as "Gentiles only," or more indirect terms. She stated that some firms take on one or two Jewish workers "only for appearances." It will be noted that this respondent gave a much higher estimate of difficulties for Jewish applicants than any of the 28 respondent agencies in the sample reported above. It may be that her estimate was somewhat biased upward, and that those of the other respondents were

biased downward.

This respondent gave several illustrations of employers' restrictions regarding Jewish employees:

The personnel officer of a trucking company told the agency that he wanted no Jewish girls for clerical work in the office or Jewish men as drivers.

The personnel officer of a financial institution advised the agency that she wanted to keep their employees mostly Gentile. A Jewish girl was placed there when an official of another financial institution interceded on her behalf.

The local offices of two beverage companies indicated that they could not use Jewish men for driver-salesmen. When a Jewish applicant was referred, one of these companies told the agency, "Naturally, we can't use him."

A large accounting firm advised the agency that they definitely would not employ Jews either in secretarial jobs or as accountants. The respondent said that a number of other accounting firms had similar restrictions. One accounting firm told the agency, "You know better than to send a Jew; I want white people only."

An oil company advised the agency that Jews were not wanted in their office, but did not indicate if this was true of their other departments. Another oil company did not make any specifications against Jews, although it was the respondent's experience that they did not employ any for the jobs she handled. A third oil company apparently hired Jews on a merit basis.

The respondent said that sometimes one department or a subsidiary of a large corporation would not hire Jews, while another subdivision would do so. The supervisors of each department appeared to exercise their own discretion in this matter, there being evidently no uniform policy for the corporation. The respondent gave as an illustration having placed a Jewish girl in the accounting department of a large food-distributing chain, whereas the office of the trucking division of the same company would not take Jewish personnel.

While her experience with engineering firms was rather limited, the respondent said that although many of them would hire Jewish engineers, there were several firms with restrictions which barred this. She mentioned several of the largest

engineering companies which evidently practiced fair employment with respect to Jews.

Some of the national advertising agencies with local offices contacted this employment agency, and according to the respondent, several of these firms had anti-Jewish restrictions.

One financial institution, in placing an order, said it would hire no Jews and no divorcees. Another firm requested a "white Gentile."

The respondent believed that most of the private employment agencies would not hire Jews in their own offices because they considered this "bad for business."

G. The Experience of an Oriental Employment Agency

The foregoing sample of 28 private employment agencies did not include any which were identified with a particular ethnic group, or owned and managed by Negroes or Orientals. For comparative purposes, it was possible to interview the owner-manager of an agency in the Fillmore District which was clearly identified by the owner's name as Oriental. About 25 per cent of the applicants at this agency were white (predominantly Mexican, with some recent European immigrants such as White Russians); about a third of the applicants were Negro; about 10 per cent, Chinese; and about one-third, Japanese. Of the latter group, less than half were older men and women in domestic work, and the remainder were younger people in categories including professional and semiprofessional, clerical, technical, skilled, and semiskilled.

The respondent pointed out that because of his role in an agency obviously identified as Oriental in ownership, his estimate of relative difficulties in placing minority applicants would be influenced both by the fact that 75 per cent of his applicants were nonwhite, and also by the self-selection of employers who contacted such an agency. The majority of the employers were white. He said that obviously an employer who did not hire Orientals would refrain from using his agency. Nevertheless, he felt that some employers he dealt with would hire Orientals for certain jobs only; and many of the employers had been forthright in saying they wished to have an Oriental referred, but not a Negro. Some business firms had what he regarded as an almost favorable stereotype about Orientals, especially for clerical work, because they were assumed to be so conscientious, efficient, neat, quiet, and undemanding.

About half the employers with whom this respondent did business would not, in his estimate, hire Negroes. About one-fourth of the employers were explicit on this point. Employers sometimes tell this agency manager that a Negro is all right for an "inside job" behind the scenes, as for stock jobs or certain clerical work, but not for any front-office positions, public-contact jobs such as sales, or any other work in close association with whites. While there is sometimes management resistance to acceptance of Orientals for such jobs, the difficulties confronting Negroes are much greater. The few Filipinos who are placed are sent mostly to domestic jobs. Our informant believed that some of the difficulty in placing persons of Mexican descent was due to a language handicap.

The owner of this "ethnic" agency, in contrast to the others, indicated that he made a strong effort at vocational guidance for his minority applicants and at interpreting to employers the need for and advantages of merit employment.

He pointed out further that minority job-seekers usually do not have access to the communication "grapevine" of friends or relatives in business firms who can tell them of possible openings. By way of exception to this observation, and to illustrate how this process could become significant for minority workers, he mentioned a case of an insurance company which had a number of Oriental clerical workers, and where a Nisei obtained a job as an agent through a friend employed there. Some insurance companies, on the other hand, appear to have restrictive policies against hiring Oriental men in public-contact positions such as agents or claim adjusters, even though they hire Oriental young women as clerical workers. The placement officer of a local college told our informant that on four or five occasions a large insurance company had specific openings for agents. But when Nisei applicants, some of whom had business administration and accounting training in college, were referred to this company, in no case were they hired. In each instance these applicants were told the job was filled, and were not given the opportunity to make out applications or to be interviewed. There was no question as to the existence of the vacancies, because job orders had been placed with the college placement office, which was unable to fill all the positions.

While Oriental girls are employed in clerical jobs in some banks, they are not generally hired as tellers. In areas of heavy nonwhite concentration a few Oriental men are employed as tellers.

In semiskilled categories, and even more in skilled trades, this agency manager often found it difficult to place nonwhite applicants. Since the unions play an important role in hiring in the crafts and in service industries in San Francisco, he usually tried to keep away from jobs requiring union membership. It was his impression that some unions have restrictions against Oriental and Negro members, or take in very few. Some of the unions mentioned involved bartending, truck driving, and a highly skilled craft in the construction field. This respondent had had several experiences with unions which have some Oriental members, but apparently give preference to white applicants. Occasionally he hears of jobs in one of the construction trades. He referred an Oriental applicant to the union in this trade, and the man was not admitted. Soon after, he referred a white applicant with similar qualifications, and this man was taken in immediately.

This Oriental-owned placement agency's experience with employers suggests that where a white applicant and a nonwhite applicant have similar technical qualifications for a specific job, the former usually has the advantage, and the minority person is expected to be even better qualified to be considered.

There is occasional evidence of downgrading when Orientals are placed in white-collar jobs. For example, several clients of this employment agency are now employed as bookkeepers because they have been unable to get jobs in the accounting field, for which they are college-trained. Some Nisei young men who graduated from a local engineering school are working as stock clerks because they were unable to get work as engineers. In some cases the individual's qualifications may have been somewhat limited, but in other instances restrictive hiring practices are evidently a real factor. Generally, the Nisei professional man has relatively little difficulty getting employment, or, if he is self-employed, in securing clients, including those who are nonminority. Architects, engineers (with some exceptions as indicated), and dentists were among the professions mentioned, although this respondent usually does not have occasion to place them. In fields where he does some placement, such as business administration and accounting, Oriental men encounter difficulties fairly often, especially if the jobs are on, or would normally lead to, a managerial or supervisory level, or if there is a public-contact aspect, as is often the case.

According to this respondent, many Oriental young people are now beginning to realize that a college education does not in itself guarantee a

satisfactory job. An increasing number of young Nisei, accordingly, are tending to go into skilled trades or technical jobs such as television-serviceman and laboratory technician, or to open a store and become self-employed.

In general, it appears that the Oriental men are more likely to encounter discrimination in white-collar employment than Oriental women. Compared to the situation of Negro applicants, the difficulties faced by Oriental workers are usually much less serious, although there remain some areas of restriction and limited upgrading opportunities for Chinese and Japanese Americans.

H. The Experiences of a Negro Applicant at Some Private Employment Agencies

One case history has no statistical validity for generalizations about the relative difficulties Negroes encounter in securing placement through private employment agencies. It does, however, shed light on what occurs at some agencies, and from the viewpoint of an applicant instead of from that of the agency.

In late 1955 a Negro woman, age 31, related her experiences in trying to obtain work through local employment agencies. She was well-dressed and came from an urban middle-class family in the New York area. A high school graduate, she also had two years of business school training and several years' experience in sales and office work. Here is her own account of her experiences:

Since my arrival in San Francisco recently, I went to a number of employment agencies after seeing their ads in the newspapers. I went to apply for specific job openings that were advertised, and, if they were not available, was interested in being referred to other positions for which I might be qualified. Altogether I applied at about eight or nine agencies, and can recall in detail my experiences at about half a dozen.

In about half of the agencies I received a friendly reception, and felt the agency was really trying to help me find work. They took my application, interviewed me, and apparently made several phone calls to employers on my behalf. However, in very few cases was I actually referred to the employer for an interview. In the remaining agencies I visited there sometimes was no opportunity

given me to fill out an application, and generally there was little or no opportunity to be interviewed and to state my qualifications.

The statements told me by the agencies included these:

"Why did you come to San Francisco when jobs are so hard to get for people like you? Perhaps it would be better if you had stayed where you were, or went back there."

"The employment agency knows what the specific employer wants, and since the employer would not want you, there is no point in referring you to him."

"The particular job you are inquiring about is already filled, and there are no other openings in your line."

"Why don't you go to [a specific Negro organization which was mentioned] to ask for help in getting a job?"

"Negroes are wasting their time looking for office work."

Here are my experiences at each of six agencies:

Agency 1. I replied in response to an ad for a type of office job which was identical with the work I had done for several years in New York. I received a friendly reception, made out an application, and was interviewed at the agency. The interviewer told me later that she had called the employer who advised her that the girls at his firm refused to work with a Negro. The agency therefore did not refer me to this job, and was unable to find anything else.

Agency 2. When I came to this agency, in response to their ad, I was not given an opportunity to fill out an application or be interviewed. I was told rather brusquely at the door, "I know what the boss wants, and he won't take a Negro. You're just wasting your time." I was made to feel that I was wasting my time looking for office work. As she escorted me out, she asked me why I didn't go to a certain Negro organization about employment.

Agency 3. After explaining that I was answering the agency's ad, I was given an application and was interviewed. The interviewer said it is important to have had work experience in San Francisco and wanted to know how long I had been living here. She stated she knows what

the employer wants and that there were no jobs to which she could refer me.

Agency 4. I applied here because they advertised an office job exactly in the field of my experience. I was given an application blank and was interviewed. The interviewer said she had already told my friend (also Negro) who had applied earlier that this job was filled. She thought that perhaps it would have been better for my friend and me to have remained in the East because jobs for Negroes are hard to get here. I became angry and said I was an American citizen who could move around as I wished, and thought I would be able to find work in San Francisco. She then said I looked like a "nice Christian" and was a "Christian-hearted girl," presumably because I had spunk to speak up to her. She said she would try to help me find a job, and asked me to go outside for a few minutes while she made some calls. Then I was called back and was told there were no jobs available for me.

Agency 5. At this agency, where the employer pays the fee, I was given a friendly reception and was told by the interviewer the job I had applied for was already filled. In this case as in others where I was told the same thing, I cannot know for sure whether this was an evasion or whether the job was actually filled. It does not seem likely that all of these jobs could have been taken so quickly after the ad appeared. I was shown a list of jobs, including one in an insurance office, and was told I could not be referred to this or other jobs they had listed because I did not have the specific experience, such as having worked in an insurance office, before they would refer me to such a job. It is possible that this explanation was a subterfuge. The interviewer did not refer me to any job but indicated they would like to help me find one.

Agency 6. When I applied here in response to an ad listing a number of jobs, they would not take my application or interview me and said all the jobs were already filled. It seemed highly improbable that all of the positions were already filled. I was not given any opportunity to indicate my qualifications or to be considered for any job that might come in.

While only 4 (one-seventh) of the 28 employment agencies interviewed in the present survey indicated that they did not accept applications from minority applicants, the experience reported by this Negro applicant sug-

gests that possibly a larger percentage do not in fact accept applications from or interview Negro job-seekers. The same may be true, though in lesser degree, for other nonwhites. It also seems probable that a higher proportion of agencies than revealed by their responses followed a practice of accepting applications from nonwhites but not keeping them in an active file and not making any appreciable effort at referrals. A number of the employment-agency managers indicated that it takes too much time and effort to place Negroes and that this means a loss to the agency when they might be concentrating on more likely placements. It was rarely stated, but the agencies seemed understandably reluctant to do anything which might affect their relations with the employers upon whom they are directly dependent for business.

I. Employers' Reasons for Refusing to Interview Minority Applicants

The employment agencies were asked what were the most frequent reasons given by employers for refusing to interview minority applicants. Some respondents reported more than one reason, so the total exceeds 28. Seventeen agencies (over half) said they were told that management did not object to the hiring of minority workers but that the employees would object. Eight respondents (almost a third) said that management told them that their "quota was filled." How this quota was determined was not known to the agency. Six (almost a quarter) said they were told by the employers it was company policy or tradition not to employ minority-group members. The employment agencies reporting this answer said that their hands were tied as they were simply instruments for carrying out the policy of the company. Four (one-seventh) reported that the employer said he did not object but that the customers with whom the minority-group members would come in contact would not approve.

There were 4 other miscellaneous responses, including references to statements by employers to the effect that minority applicants are not generally qualified, that cliques or competitive situations arise among two or more minority groups such as Chinese and Japanese, and that Negroes are not good risks as they are not stable in their jobs.

Those employers who indicated that they would not interview minority applicants who might be referred by the agencies usually denied that they themselves had any objections; rather, the responsibility was shifted elsewhere. It also seems significant that practically none of the employers gave as their reason for refusing to interview minority applicants that the latter were lack-

ing in the technical qualifications to perform the jobs available. It was therefore not doubt about skill or job competency of minority workers, but fears or expectations about adverse reactions of customers or present employees, which was given as the main reason for not considering such applications.

J. Conclusions

The great majority (about 85 per cent) of employment agencies interviewed said that they thought it would be easier for them if performance specifications, rather than race, creed, or national origin, were the only consideration in job placement. There was, however, a wide range among the respondents in their service to nonwhite applicants. The statistics on this point are not exact since they are based on general estimates by the agency respondents and since there was an apparent bias on the part of some agencies to make a "good impression." The data suggest that a small number of the agencies (perhaps 10 to 15 per cent) are at one extreme in refusing even to register these minority applicants. At the other extreme, there appears to be about the same or a slightly higher proportion of respondents who are evidently making a strong effort to give such applicants the same service they give other applicants. In fact, a few agencies make a special effort to place nonwhite applicants, including consultation with minority and intergroup organizations. The majority of agencies (over two-thirds) fall between the respondents at either extreme in their service to minority-group members. Some of the agencies in this middle group are fairly close to those which give no service, and several approach in their practice the agencies which make a special effort to refer and place these job-seekers. Most of the agencies in this "in-between" category, however, have what seems to be a tacit policy of doing nothing or as little as possible, i.e. applications may be accepted from nonwhite workers but the agency makes little effort to place them and rarely refers them to employers. The agencies often assume that these applicants would probably not be hired anyhow, so there is little point in spending the valuable time of the agency and of the employer, and of risking the latter's displeasure.

In spite of this considerable variation in the service given minority-group applicants by the respective placement agencies, the agencies generally pointed out that about all they can do is to "give the employer what

he wants," that they have no power to control or modify the employer's policy. A number of agencies tried to explain their limited service to minority-group members by saying, "They don't apply, or hardly ever do." Yet the data suggest that some agencies directly or indirectly discourage minority applicants, and that even if such applicants are accepted and interviewed, there is little effort at placement on the assumption that it "would waste everybody's time." A number of respondents seemingly also accepted as their own viewpoint stereotypes held by some employers about minority workers. The acceptance of such views is probably an important operational factor in the kind of service given to minority applicants, and may have biased the responses and estimates given by these agency managers.

With regard to female clerical workers -- who comprise a substantial part of the placement of these private agencies in San Francisco -- the difficulties for Negro applicants are severe. This is true also for Negro men for the male jobs often handled by the agencies: sales, technical, clerical, managerial. For Oriental women, opportunities in clerical jobs appear much greater, and many more agencies obtain such placements than they do for Negroes. For Oriental men, however, the difficulties seem greater than for the women, and in many instances approach the difficulties for Negro men for jobs involving public contacts or those with any supervisory status over white workers. Apparently except for occasional female clerical workers, Mexican Americans are rarely seen by private employment agencies, and there is relatively little resistance to giving them service, although some employers have restrictions. In regard to Jewish applicants, many respondents say that usually neither they nor the employers can identify such applicants and that there are very few restrictions. There is some evidence, however, that difficulties faced by Jewish applicants tend to be kept covert and that many agencies and employers are reluctant to indicate limitations in hiring them. From these data it would appear that Jewish job-seekers have less difficulty than Oriental applicants and much less than Negro applicants.

While review of the employment-agency application forms offers only a superficial aspect of the service given minority applicants, a substantial proportion of agencies (almost two-thirds of the sample) ask questions with some reference to race, religion, or national origin on the blanks. A smaller proportion (almost 15 per cent) make a notation if the applicant is a minority person; and in over one-fifth of the agencies, the interviewer "remembers" if the applicant is a minority person. Thus all but one of the employment agencies

include such questions on their application, or make a notation to this effect, or remember if the applicant is a minority-group member. The one respondent who is not included gave no answer on these points.

Almost all respondents said that even when an employer does not indicate any racial or religious preference, they do not assume they can refer any qualified person, including a member of a minority group. Many respondents said if they had a well-qualified minority applicant for such a job, they would call the employer, give the applicant's ethnic identification and his qualifications, and ask if that person could be referred. The impression derived from other answers given by the same respondents is that often it is considered "too much trouble" to try to refer a minority applicant. Presumably the practices vary among the private employment agencies on this point.

Many respondents indicated that they merely carry out the policy specified by the employer and claimed to have nothing to do with initiating any restrictive policy. Very little information on this point could be obtained from the agencies. It seems that while a small proportion of agencies make an intensive effort to place minority applicants on a merit basis, another small segment of agencies act in a restrictive direction, and there are variations among the "in-between" group.

The evidence on this point is rather fragmentary, but an illustration of the practice of some agencies was given by one employer. He had called an agency, requested that applicants be referred for a secretarial position, and said nothing about any ethnic preferences. The agency manager asked him, "What are your preferences or restrictions on race or religion?" This employer called a second agency and when asked if he had any racial or religious preferences, he indicated he had a merit employment policy and was not interested in the race, religion, or national origin of the applicant -- only in her performance qualifications. The employment agency order-taker then asked, "Would you even take a dark person like a Negro or Mexican?"

While the private employment agencies function primarily as instruments for carrying out employer policy, nevertheless there seems to be a permissive area within which some agencies actively initiate inquiries about restrictions and others, at the opposite extreme, play an active role trying to persuade employers at least to interview well-qualified minority applicants. The majority of employment agencies are in a middle group which usually seems to act simply

on the assumption that employers will not hire nonwhite workers (especially Negro) for the types of jobs handled by the agency. Accordingly, among these agencies there appears to be little interest in making the extra effort assumed necessary to place nonwhite applicants. In this sense, the service rendered these applicants by such agencies is at best extremely limited.

Many agency managers explain their practices toward minority applicants in the light of their expectations about employers and nonminority applicants, and the fear of antagonizing or losing business from the latter two groups. Several respondents pointed out that in a highly competitive business it was risky to become identified with service to minority applicants and with active efforts to place them, because employers and applicants could always take their business to competing agencies. Many agency managers told us of the pressure to conform to what is regarded as prevailing practice among private employment agencies and what are assumed to be the preferences of employers and nonminority applicants. Those employment agencies which directly or indirectly discourage applications from minority workers, or which accept their applications but do little or nothing about placing them, usually deny any bias or responsibility for such practices; they are generally attributed to expected negative reaction by employers and applicants.

The experience of several other employment agencies which endeavor to give equal service on a merit basis to minority applicants has been that sometimes these agencies have to work harder to succeed in such placements. In some instances these agencies meet with success, and in others no adequate placement can be made. Where placements do occur, they are often of the marginal and temporary type, below the level of qualifications of the applicant, and with little opportunity for advancement. Contrary to the fears of some, the heads of these agencies said there have been relatively few complaints from employers or applicants, and practically no evidence of a loss of business by the agency because of its efforts to place minority applicants on an equal basis with other job-seekers.

Chapter VIII. INFORMATION FROM STATE DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT PLACEMENT OFFICERS

Placement and other personnel of the California State Department of Employment provided certain valuable information which augmented our picture of employment practices affecting members of minority groups. Through the cooperation of the Department, 21 staff members in the San Francisco offices were interviewed -- two in April, 1955, and 19 in October, 1955. Seventeen of the staff members interviewed were engaged in placing and counseling applicants for jobs in various industries.

The Department states that its offices placed 25,199 employees in San Francisco firms during the year 1955. Since 1950 the Department has had an explicit, stated policy of nondiscrimination in all phases of its operation. Discriminatory job orders are not accepted, and no records are kept of the race, religion, or national origin of applicants for employment counseling and placement or for unemployment benefits. The policy is to make all referrals on a nondiscriminatory basis and without any ethnic or religious identification of applicants. Therefore no recorded statistics on these data are available, and the information received from the Department staff members about treatment accorded minority job-seekers was based on their own estimates.

The Department also maintains a continuing liaison with intergroup and ethnic agencies, management and labor representatives in the San Francisco Local Offices Advisory Committee on Minority Group Placement, and a similar regional advisory committee.

Employers in the San Francisco Bay Area who normally use public employment services as a source of recruiting workers are described in a study of the labor market by the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California.¹ A total of 340 employers were interviewed. Their responses were as follows:

¹F. Theodore Malm, "Recruiting Patterns and the Functioning of Labor Markets," Reprint No. 60, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley, 1954, pp. 510-15.

Type of Personnel	Employers	
	Per Cent Recruiting through Public Employment Services	Number Responding
Managerial and pro- fessional	11	310
Sales	21	215
Manual	29	284
Clerical	55	323

For those jobs in which hiring is done mainly through the unions (including a number of skilled and semiskilled jobs) and for many managerial, professional, and semiprofessional jobs where recruiting is often done through other sources, the public employment services provide a relatively limited picture of experience. A high proportion of jobs for which the Department handles placements are farm labor and unskilled and semiskilled work.

Approximate figures could be given for only three categories of minority applicants: Negro, Oriental, and Latin American. The respondents were unable to make any estimates regarding Jewish applicants.

A. Percentage of Minority Applicants

Since no statistics or records are kept of the ethnic or religious identification of applicants, the figures given us as to numbers of minority applicants are necessarily approximations. Overall, the proportion of minority applicants at the State employment service is much higher than at the private employment agencies. However, within the Department of Employment, the several sections vary greatly in the proportions of applicants who are minority-group members. The percentage of minority applicants in clerical and sales work is generally much lower than in other sections such as farming. The percentages of Negro, Oriental, and Latin American applicants for clerical, sales, professional, managerial, and supervisory jobs seem roughly about the same as at the private employment agencies.

Of all applicants for professional, managerial, and supervisory jobs, both male and female, the proportion of Negroes was reported as "very low." For clerical jobs Negro women made up approximately 1 per cent of the adult female applicants; and for clerical and unskilled female juniors (age 16-23)

they were almost one-half of the applicants. Among applicants for male clerical jobs, Negroes were under 5 per cent of the total. Among applicants for sales jobs for men and women, Negroes were estimated as about 3 per cent of the total. For industrial jobs, Negroes were 3 per cent of all applicants in one subsection; 5 per cent in another; from 10 to 15 per cent in two other subsections; and over a third of all applicants in still another.

It was not possible to get any specific estimates as to what proportions of Negro applicants were unskilled, semiskilled, and skilled, although the data suggest that the greatest proportions were in unskilled and semiskilled work. Negroes comprised approximately 10 per cent of the applicants for garment-industry jobs. For service jobs (such as hotel, restaurant, and domestic work), one respondent estimated that Negroes comprised over 5 per cent of the applicants; but another respondent in the same field estimated that Negroes and Orientals combined were 80 per cent of the applicants. It was not possible to obtain an estimate of the percentage of applicants for domestic service who were Negro.

There were clearly considerable variations among the estimates of numbers of Negro applicants reported by staff members in the same sections. Some of the differences may have been due to error and variation among respondents in making estimates based on their impressions, since no actual count by racial or ethnic identification was available. Other variable factors are the age and sex of applicants and different types of jobs handled by various respondents in a given section.

Since no specific breakdown of jobs was available, it is not possible to explain the relatively low percentage of Negro applicants reported by one respondent handling hotel, restaurant, and domestic workers, and the very high percentage of Negroes reported by another placement worker in the same field. It is not clear whether the difference might be due to the latter respondent's handling a larger proportion of domestic-service and lower-level jobs in hotels and restaurants. A related question is whether Negro and other nonwhite applicants at this section were concentrated in private household work and lower-level jobs in service industries.

In unskilled temporary and part-time jobs for males aged 16-22, Negroes were estimated as 15 per cent of all applicants. Negroes were estimated as 80 per cent of all applicants for farm labor.

Negroes were estimated as making up about one-fourth of all applicants in the Department section handling mainly out-of-town placements for such jobs as cooks and bakers, garment workers, and workers in service industries.

Oriental applicants were estimated as comprising a very low percentage of all applicants in professional, managerial, and supervisory jobs for men and women. One respondent handling clerical placements estimated Oriental applicants as under 1 per cent of the total, but three other respondents in the same field gave an estimate of 5 per cent. Of all applicants for sales jobs, Oriental workers were thought to be about 1 per cent. For industrial work Oriental applicants were estimated as 2 per cent of the total by one respondent and from under 5 per cent to 10 per cent by four other respondents in this field. The respondents said about 15 per cent of the applicants for garment-industry jobs were Orientals. Of all applicants for hotel, restaurant, and domestic jobs, one respondent said Orientals were a very low percentage, and another respondent thought that Negroes and Orientals combined were 80 per cent of all applicants. Oriental young men, age 16-22, were estimated as 5 per cent of the applicants for temporary and part-time jobs in this "junior" category. Among farm-work applicants, Orientals were approximately 5 per cent of the total. Orientals were estimated as one-tenth of the applicants in the section handling out-of-town placements for cooks and bakers, garment workers, and service-industry workers.

The data for Latin American workers were less complete than for Negro and Oriental applicants. Latin Americans were reported as a very low percentage of applicants for professional, managerial, and supervisory jobs. A respondent who handles clerical jobs predominantly for men estimated Latin Americans as 2 per cent of the applicants. The respondent placing clerical and unskilled young women, age 16-23, thought Latin American girls made up about one-tenth of the applicants. For industrial jobs, respondents gave varying estimates of the proportion of Latin American applicants -- 2 per cent, and from under 5 per cent to 10 per cent. Latin Americans were approximately a third of all applicants for garment-industry jobs. Among applicants for farm work, the Latin American workers were believed to be about 10 per cent. Of all applicants in the section for out-of-town placements for cooks and bakers, garment workers, and service-industry workers, Latin Americans were estimated as one-tenth.

The following table summarizes these estimates of minority applicants at various sections of the Department of Employment:

TABLE 43. ESTIMATES BY 17 PLACEMENT WORKERS OF THE PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO, ORIENTAL, AND LATIN AMERICAN APPLICANTS AT VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT IN SAN FRANCISCO

Placement- Worker Respondent	Types of Jobs Handled by Respondent ^a	Per Cent of Total Applicants		
		Negro	Oriental	Latin American
1	Professional, managerial, and supervisory (m and f)	"very low"	"very low"	"very low"
2	Commercial -- clerical (f)	under 1	under 1	..
3	Commercial--clerical, steno. (90 per cent f, 10 per cent m)	1	under 5	..
4	Clerical (90 per cent m, 10 per cent f)	under 5	under 5	2
5	Clerical and unskilled (f, age 16-23)	almost 50	5	10
6	Sales (40 per cent m, 60 per cent f)	3	1	..
7	Industrial--skilled, in- cluding some apprenticed trades, and unskilled (95 per cent m, 5 per cent f; juniors, age 16-22, and veterans, age 18- 25)	3	2	under 5
8	Industrial--skilled, semiskilled, and un- skilled (m)	10-15	under 5	2
9	Industrial--skilled, semiskilled, and un- skilled (90 per cent m, 10 per cent f; veterans)	15	5-10	2
10	Industrial--skilled, semiskilled, and un- skilled (80 per cent m, 20 per cent f)	35	5	10
11	Industrial (f)	5	5	5
12	Garment (10 per cent m, 90 per cent f)	10	15	35

TABLE 43 -- Continued

Placement- Worker Respondent	Types of Jobs Handled by Respondent ^a	Per Cent of Total Applicants		
		Negro	Oriental	Latin American
13	Garment, service, cooks, bakers (50 per cent m, 50 per cent f; mainly out of town)	25	10	10
14	Hotel, restaurant, and domestic (30 per cent m, 70 per cent f)	over 5	"very low"	under 5
15	Hotel, restaurant, and domestic (f)	80	Negro and Oriental	..
16	Unskilled (m, age 16- 22, temporary and part time)	15	5	4
17	Farm labor--unskilled (85 per cent m, 15 per cent f)	80	5	10(?)

^aAbbreviations: m - male; f - female.

Generally the percentages of nonwhite applicants at various sections of the Department of Employment seem to reflect roughly the occupational distribution of nonwhite workers as shown in the 1950 U.S. Census data for the San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Area.

However, two questions are suggested by a comparison of the data from the Department of Employment with Census data. Even if allowance is made for some possible changes in occupational distribution in the six-year period since the 1950 Census, the very large proportion of Negro applicants placed in farm labor is much greater than the 1950 Census figure. According to that Census, a fraction of 1 per cent of employed Negro males 14 years and over (116 men) were classified as farm laborers in the San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Area. Yet the farm labor section estimated in 1955 that 80 per cent of the farm laborers placed were Negro. An increasing number of these Negro workers are doing day-haul work in seasonal farm labor. Another factor perhaps contributing to the large percentage of Negroes in farm labor is the marginal status of many Negro workers in urban unskilled labor, who are often unemployed

for relatively long periods.

Another question is raised by the relatively small number of Negro applicants for clerical, sales, and other white-collar jobs. The 1950 Census listed almost 8 per cent of Negro men and over a tenth of Negro women in the San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Area as being in these occupations. Yet the proportion of Negro applicants at the Department for these jobs seems much smaller. Many of the Negroes in clerical jobs, whether placed by the Department of Employment or through other channels, are in government jobs and find difficulty obtaining such employment in private industry. The small proportion of Negro applicants for clerical and sales jobs at the Department seems not much higher than Negro applicants for these jobs at private employment agencies. The reasons for this circumstance are not clear. For instance, do some Negro workers assume that the public employment service, like many private employment agencies, makes little effort or would have little success in placing Negroes in white-collar jobs? Are Negroes sometimes discouraged from getting training for, and applying for, such jobs and encouraged to seek employment which is more "traditional" or presumably easier to obtain? Or is there only a relatively small number of Negroes seeking such jobs in private industry because they believe government employment offers the best likelihood of equal hiring and upgrading opportunity for clerical or other white-collar workers?

The nature and extent of vocational counseling which Negro workers receive or fail to receive undoubtedly plays a part not only regarding their interest in white-collar jobs, but also with reference to acquiring skilled jobs in industry. The data received from the employment service, though incomplete and only estimates, suggest that the great majority of Negro placements are in unskilled and semiskilled industrial jobs, lower-level service-industry jobs, and farm labor. It is not possible to ascertain clearly to what extent employer restrictions prevent upgrading of Negroes into certain jobs and to what extent this may be due to lack of training and experience.

Probably expectation of, or experience with, employment discrimination deters some Negroes from training to acquire skills. The extremely high proportion of Negro applicants in unskilled and semiskilled work and in the lower-level service jobs, and the relatively small percentage in upgraded service jobs, in skilled industrial jobs and in clerical, sales,

technical, and supervisory jobs suggest a rather limited role for the Department in counseling Negro and other minority applicants and in facilitating their upgrading opportunities with employers and unions. This point could be better evaluated if more accurate and complete information were available regarding the relative proportion of minority applicants who received counseling and testing, and the types of jobs in which minority workers were actually placed as compared with their training, work experience, and qualifications to perform certain jobs. Comparative data on these matters for minority and nonminority applicants were not available.

It should be noted that although the Department of Employment does not process explicitly discriminatory job orders, and refers applicants without regard to ethnic identity, it has no power to influence what happens to minority applicants at the point of placement or rejection. There is, accordingly, no necessary connection between the Department's policies and those of employer-clients.

B. Relative Difficulties of Minority Applicants in Various Fields of Work

Placement workers sometimes differ from other staff members in the same section in estimates of the relative difficulties of placing minority workers. This may not always be due to a difference in evaluating the difficulties of minority as compared with nonminority workers, but rather the age and sex of the workers and the degree of skill involved in the particular jobs. For example, one staff member who handles industrial jobs reported that male Negro workers have no difficulty getting jobs, whereas other respondents reported that they have great difficulty. There was presumably some difference in the types of skills in the industrial jobs handled by these placement workers. Unfortunately the responses did not provide any detailed estimates as to the comparative difficulty of placing Negroes in unskilled, semiskilled, and skilled industrial jobs. Seventeen placement workers in the State Department of Employment in San Francisco gave estimates of the degree of difficulty encountered by qualified Negroes in getting jobs in the respective categories with which these respondents dealt. These replies ranged from a relatively small group who said Negro workers had no difficulty, through a larger group who reported some difficulty, to approximately half who said they had great difficulty. The placement workers who thought Negroes had "no difficulty" were referring to their experience with such applicants as those for hotel, restaurant, and domestic jobs (all females),

for industrial jobs (veterans), and farm labor. "Some difficulty" was estimated by other placement workers for such categories as sales (males), unskilled jobs (for males, ages 16-22), skilled industrial jobs (females), and clerical jobs (males); in the latter two fields nonminority workers were also believed to have difficulties finding employment. "Great difficulty" was reported by those who dealt with applicants for such jobs as clerical (females), unskilled (for females ages 16-23 and for males ages 16-22), wholesale sales (males), and jobs in hotel, restaurant, and domestic work.

In a similar fashion, estimates were given for the difficulties faced by Oriental workers. In this instance, nearly half the respondents reported that qualified workers experienced "some difficulty" in obtaining employment in the respective categories of jobs with which these placement workers had experience, and the balance were about evenly divided between "no difficulty" and "great difficulty." "No difficulty" was reported for such jobs as unskilled (for males, ages 16-22), and for work in such industries as garment; farm labor; and hotel, restaurant, and domestic work (for females). "Some difficulty" was estimated by placement workers who dealt with such jobs as clerical (females, ages 16-23; and males); and skilled, semiskilled (males) and unskilled industrial. Some difficulty for nonminority applicants was noted for such classifications as clerical (male), and skilled and unskilled industrial (female). "Great difficulty" was the reply of placement workers handling jobs in wholesale sales (males), hotel and restaurant work, and several industrial categories.

For Latin American workers, the data were incomplete, and respondents did not specify the jobs for which there was no difficulty. One respondent said they have great difficulty in getting unskilled and semiskilled industrial jobs (about 80 per cent of his placements were males; 20 per cent, females). Five respondents reported that Latin Americans have some difficulty -- four spoke with regard to various industrial categories, at all levels of skill (one respondent said nonminority female applicants also have some difficulty in getting skilled jobs) and one with regard to stenographic and secretarial jobs for females.

Respondents were asked which industries generally hire technically qualified minority applicants for all types of jobs, for certain jobs only, or which seldom or never hire such applicants. The respondents did not always agree as to the prevailing practice in a given industry, but each, of course, spoke on the basis of his own experience with some of the firms

in the respective industries.

For Negroes, the industries which appeared to offer the least opportunity were retail trade, finance, and insurance. One respondent said Negroes are seldom or never hired in finance and insurance, and another made the same report for retail trade (female). One respondent said of the situation in retail trade that it was too varied to permit any generalization.

Industries reported as hiring Negroes for certain jobs only were: manufacturing and construction, public utilities, wholesale trade, and finance and insurance. Somewhat greater opportunities were reported in food-packing, production, and manufacturing; service; garment; and distribution industries.

No respondent mentioned any industry in which Orientals are seldom or never hired. One said the practices in retail trade are too varied to generalize.

Industries which were said to hire Orientals for certain jobs only were: finance and insurance, wholesale trade (one respondent for males, and one for females), and manufacturing and construction.

A wider range of opportunities was reported for Orientals in the following industries: food packing, production, and manufacturing; service; garment; distribution; manufacturing and construction; public utilities; wholesale trade (females); and farm.

For Latin Americans, the data on industries were incomplete. No respondent mentioned an industry in which Latin Americans are seldom or never hired.

Industries reported as hiring Latin Americans for certain jobs only were: manufacturing and construction, public utilities, and insurance.

Industries reported as hiring Latin Americans for virtually all types of jobs were: wholesale trade; food packing, production, and manufacturing; service; garment; and distribution.

C. Percentage of Minority Applicants Referred and Placed

It was difficult for Department personnel to estimate how the proportions of Negro, Oriental, and Latin American applicants referred to employers compared with the proportion for all applicants. Similarly it was hard to estimate, among those applicants referred, how the proportions of those placed compared for the minority applicants and all applicants. For instance, for some jobs such as sales and clerical, the actual number of Negro workers re-

ferred and placed was relatively very small, although the per cents referred and placed might seem comparatively high.

For sales jobs (both male and female), approximately one-third of all Negro and Oriental applicants were referred; of all applicants for sales jobs, about half were referred. It was further estimated that approximately a quarter of the Negro and a quarter of the Oriental applicants referred to sales jobs were placed; whereas of all applicants referred, about half were placed. Since the placement workers endeavor to screen applicants and to refer only workers who appear well-qualified for a particular type of job, the different rates in placement suggest restrictions in hiring.

Regarding referrals to skilled and unskilled industrial jobs (including apprenticed trades) for junior and veteran males, age 18-25, the respondent said, "Hardest for Negro, less hard for Oriental, and easier for Latin-American." For placement of minority workers, his response was, "Poorest for Negro, less poor for Oriental, best for Latin American." A respondent who places female clerical workers said regarding referrals, "Poor for Negro; for Orientals there was usually better work experience and employer acceptance." Another respondent placing female clerical workers said regarding placement that "there were too few Negroes to say. Some employers don't want them because they fear a flood (of Negro applicants). Negroes are harder to place than Orientals. Accent disqualifies many where telephone work is involved."

About a quarter of the respondents could not make any estimate. Except for instances cited above, the response generally was that minority workers are referred and placed in about the same proportion as the overall rate. It will be borne in mind that the employers here concerned are not a cross-section, since they include only those who do not rely on other worker-recruitment sources and who agree not to lodge discriminatory job orders with the Department of Employment.

D. Underemployment of Negro and Oriental Workers

The placement workers were asked how often they came across upgrading problems or underemployment of Negro and Oriental workers, i.e., situations in which persons with certain skills, education, or training were placed in jobs below the usual level for workers having such qualifications. There was no consensus among the staff members interviewed.

Regarding Negro workers, 6 respondents (over a third) said that underemployment occurs often; 6 said it occurs sometimes; and 5 said it occurs seldom or never. For Oriental workers, no respondent said underemployment occurred often, and 4 (under one-fourth) said it occurred sometimes; 11 (about two-thirds) said seldom or never; and 2 didn't know.

A staff member who places female clerical workers said that Negro girls who are college graduates sometimes accept clerical jobs below their qualifications:

The tendency is to send out a highly qualified Negro applicant to a lesser job because employer acceptance is greater in a minor job. The assumption is, get the job and work up. It is an operation to get consideration at all.

A placement worker who handles garment and service jobs, especially those out of town, said that one reason for underemployment of Negroes is that a Negro, particularly if he has very high qualifications, often does not have the financial resources to hold out for the job for which he is best qualified. Several respondents believed that the status of many Negroes as newcomers in the local job market was a factor in their underemployment.

Another problem -- cited by two respondents -- is that "lack of experience" is sometimes given as an explanation for underemployment of Negro workers. According to one of these respondents, employers and placement workers use as a criterion in classifying an applicant, the occupation in which he has worked longest. For instance, Negroes who had been for some time in a service industry or domestic work and then acquired skills for upgraded work are sometimes "typed" by their previous occupation and by limited experience in the higher job category. Apparently some employers who do not hire minority-group members for certain upgraded jobs ostensibly because these workers have no experience, or no local experience, in these jobs may be using this explanation to conceal restrictive practices.

Another complicating factor is the reluctance of many employers to use a trial on the job as a selection test for workers who appear to be well-qualified. This policy is not limited to minority workers. However, as indicated above in our reference to the labor-market survey of the University of California Institute of Industrial Relations, minority-group members often have an especially hard time securing the opportunity for on-the-job trial for upgraded employment. There seems to be circular thinking involved in the practice of some employers on this score: minority workers are denied upgraded jobs because they "lack

the experience," but at the same time employers make it difficult or impossible for members of the same minority groups to get this experience.

E. Duration of Unemployment

Nine (over half) of the Department personnel interviewed said that duration of unemployment for Negro workers (both male and female) is greater than for white workers; 5 (about 30 per cent) thought there was little or no difference; and 3 gave no answer. One respondent thought a factor to account for the difference is that "not as many opportunities are open to Negroes." Another, differing, said, "Negroes are late-comers, so are laid off first." A placement worker who handles industrial jobs said Negroes work in only a limited number of categories, therefore when they are laid off they are often out of work for some time, and often the skills are not transferable to other jobs. One respondent handling domestic jobs, who thought there should be a school for domestics, replied that although there is a shortage of domestics, Negroes are not coming in for such jobs and cannot take "live-in" jobs as nonminority widows sometimes do. One staff member cited what he regarded as attitudes of many Negroes toward work as a factor, referring to the image of the Negro as "happy and irresponsible." Another said that some Negroes fear that if they take a stop-gap, temporary job they may not be available for more stable employment. It was not possible to ascertain from all of these responses to what extent recurrent stereotypes were being expressed and to what extent there were objective appraisals of concrete experiences.

The responses concerning duration of unemployment of Oriental workers were too limited for statistical generalization. Generally, the responses suggested that there was little difference for Oriental and white workers among the employers served by the Department of Employment.

F. Estimates of Employer Practices

Respondents were asked to estimate the percentage of employers they regularly dealt with who would take any qualified minority applicant for any job strictly on merit, those who would do so for certain jobs only, and those to whom it would be futile to refer any minority applicants.

Among those offering information in this connection, one respondent engaged in clerical placement said that except for government jobs there are

none where one may "freely feel" Negro workers can be referred. Another person handling clerical positions said the best placement opportunities for Negro women are in government and non-profit agencies. One worker, placing girls in clerical and unskilled jobs, estimated that not over 10 per cent of the employers dealt with would hire any qualified minority applicant for any job. Of the other respondents, 8 offered no estimate on this point, 1 said that "most" such applicants would be taken, 4 stated that all would be taken, and 2 said "All" but qualified this with the comments, "Up to a certain percentage," and "If you've got a really good cook, you can place him anywhere."

Similar difficulties were encountered in seeking estimates of the percentage of employers who would take minority applicants for certain jobs only. The respondent placing girls in clerical and unskilled jobs estimated that 10 per cent of the firms would accept Negro girls as clerks, typists, or stenographers, and that one-third of the firms would accept Orientals for such jobs. A placement worker in the garment field said there tends to be a clustering in employment -- Negroes as pressers, Chinese as operators, and Mexicans as operators and hand-sewers. A respondent in the industrial section said:

Negroes are accepted in all but public contact jobs such as route sales. There are few Negroes in skilled trades, but if they are qualified, they are usually hired. For Orientals, it's about the same.

A respondent handling female clerical placements thought that those firms which hire Negro applicants do so only for certain jobs such as stock clerk, typist, and machine operator. Firms which hire Oriental women generally place them where they are qualified by skills and experience, except for top office jobs. While Oriental women generally can obtain office jobs, it seems that there are limitations in upgrading.

A staff member placing young men, including veterans, in semiskilled and skilled trades (some apprenticed) replied that the firms which hire minority applicants usually do not place them in responsible jobs mostly because of "no experience. . . too few are at the foreman level."

The employment-service workers were asked to estimate the percentage of firms to which they thought it was futile to refer any minority applicants. The answers were quite inconclusive, and it was not possible to ascertain whether some referrals were assumed to be futile because of what was understood to be the employer's policy. Six respondents stated that there were

no employers to whom it would be pointless to refer minority workers; 3 replied that they "can't say"; and 8 did not answer.

G. Problems of Employer Attitudes toward Placing Minority Applicants

Three staff members (handling placements for farm labor, veterans' industrial, and unskilled young males) said they had no special problems in placing minority applicants. Other respondents mentioned as points of employer resistance such items as fear of pressures of nonminority employees, other anticipated risks, and certain assumed adverse characteristics of minority applicants.

There was mention of difficulty in sending Negroes to out-of-town jobs involving public contact, such as waitresses. Some small work groups were described as having a snob approach like that of some exclusive clubs, and being "downright nasty to minorities." A respondent in the industrial field stated that some companies rationalize a policy of not hiring Negroes on the basis of the "extra risk," saying their workers would not want to work with Negroes.

According to an industrial placement worker, certain employers claim to be "overloaded with Negroes" because some are employed, and proceed to limit their numbers on a racial basis. Some employers say they can't take the risk of having a Negro in a job involving meeting the public. Others say they are reluctant to hire Negroes because they don't know how nonNegro employees would react.

A respondent placing female clerical workers said there are so few Negro stenographers that there is really no problem, although Negro clerical workers are harder to place than Oriental. Some employers were described as having one or both of two fears in regard to hiring Negro workers: that the firm would be flooded with Negro applicants, or that there would be adverse employee reaction and the Negro would not "fit in."

A respondent who places young female clerical and unskilled workers said that some large companies with no minority workers resist hiring them because of feared employee pressures. Another respondent said that in some garment factories, work crews (often made up of foreign-born persons) would object to the entry of a Negro into their small, congenial, homogeneous work group. While some Negro men are going into tailoring, it was expected that placement would not be easy for them in the face of resistance in re-

tail stores because alterations and fittings involve public contact. Negro women also face the same problem in such work.

A placement worker for young men in skilled and semiskilled trades in industry reported that employers say that they have no objections and there is no company policy against hiring Negroes, but that they don't want to jeopardize the working crews which would object. Some of these jobs are in trades under apprenticeship, and it seems that tacit restrictions by some unions and employers against Negroes might also serve as a limiting factor in such cases. Some of the respondents described work with unions and orientation of Negro applicants in regard to apprenticeships, but the experience of this sort seemed relatively limited.

A placement worker for clerical jobs mentioned these problems with employers: (1) Some employers say their company policy is established elsewhere and that they have to comply. (2) About half the employers who don't hire Negroes attribute this to "employee pressure." (3) The factor of inadequate past experience looms large and may have a discriminatory function in ruling out well-qualified minority workers with the potentials for effective performance.

One respondent thought that even though the Department of Employment does not keep any record of the applicant's race, religion, or national origin there are often certain clues available to employers or placement people regarding race or national origin. Such items are birthplace, name, street address, and a work classification not commensurate with education. Regarding employers who might want to screen applicants on a restrictive basis, this respondent said, "Those who want to can dope it out, and then say they didn't know."

According to a placement worker for service industry jobs, the employer may overtly avoid placing discriminatory orders with the Department, but covertly may still select only white workers. This respondent stated that when he knows discrimination is being practiced in this fashion he cancels the job order. Another respondent pointed out that sometimes in such instances a field worker tries to look into the situation and interpret the Department's policy in the hope that the employer will change his practice.

Our interviews did not yield a clear picture as to what the practice of the Department is in regard to the technique and frequency of such follow-up. Much stress was placed on the explicitly stated policy of the Department of not accepting discriminatory job orders. Yet it was pointed out

that some employers discriminate covertly without specifying any restrictions. This seemed due partly to the fact that the Department cancels an order if the employer insists on restrictions after the Department's policy has been interpreted to him; and secondly, to the reluctance of employers to admit restrictive practices where they exist.

With regard to those cases where employers do not specify any restrictions but fail on several occasions to hire well-qualified minority workers who are referred, it could not be ascertained from the responses whether such employers continue receiving service from the Department but minority applicants are not referred to them or are referred only for certain jobs. Naturally in some of these cases it might be extremely difficult to establish whether an employer was actually discriminating, because in such an event a subterfuge would be likely. Although the Department has made some effort to have applicants report back after referral, they rarely do so. Consequently, in situations where discrimination may have been involved, unless the applicant does report his experiences, the employment service has no basis for followup.

According to one staff member, some employers continue to receive service even though they do not hire well-qualified minority applicants who are referred. In some of these instances where the employer is apparently practicing covert hiring restrictions, this staff member reports that only non-minority applicants are referred. Obviously if service is sometimes given to employers on such a basis, it is not in conformity with the Department policy.

H. Problems with Minority Applicants

Several placement workers stressed the point that many Negroes are relative newcomers to the community and to city life. Limited education, unrealistic expectations about work, lack of work experience in a broad range of jobs, and work habits and attitudes were mentioned -- often as problems of minority applicants, particularly Negro. Some comments were, "They don't 'sell themselves' when they appear before the apprenticeship board," "Over-anxious," "Too shy," "Belligerent," "Don't know how to dress according to the situation," "Defeatist," "Take friends along when go for job," "It's hard to get some minority people, especially of limited education, to communicate about their qualifications."

The need for employment counseling and guidance was indicated as especially important. A number of staff members indicated the work they are doing to prepare minority applicants, along with nonminority applicants, for the world of work. A number of respondents mentioned recurrent stereotypes (both favorable and unfavorable) about Negro, Oriental, and Latin American workers. In a few instances it seemed that some of the respondents themselves also held these stereotypes, as for example, "Negroes are lackadaisical and irresponsible about work. . .they're like children." On the whole, the respondents showed considerable awareness of the importance of judging each applicant on his merits as an individual, although expectations were sometimes expressed as to probable barriers, or certain characteristics believed to be typical of members of a minority group. The idea that minority workers for certain jobs have to be "high type" was expressed by some respondents. One placement worker discussing Negroes in sales jobs said:

They [Negroes] don't feel they have too much chance and are defeatist. They have to be high type and personable, and not belligerent. Most of them have a good educational background and realize they do or don't have qualities for meeting the public.

One respondent mentioned the problem of sending minority applicants to apply for out-of-town jobs (such as service industry) because of the expense to the applicant if it turns out the employer has a restrictive policy which was not known to the Department. The other problem is that some of these jobs require workers to share living accommodations and that some of the employers fear that friction would occur.

I. Experiences with Unions and Apprenticeship Boards regarding Minority Applicants

Ten (about 60 per cent) of the respondents had had no experience with unions in these matters, partly because the jobs they handle are not unionized or hiring is not done through the union. Five respondents (approximately 30 per cent) said they had no special problems with unions regarding minority applicants. A placement worker in the garment field said the work is highly unionized and the unions are nondiscriminatory so that minority workers can be placed with full cooperation from the union.

One placement worker in the industrial field thought that if unions went on record stating that they and their members had no objection to working

with minority-group members, then employers would not be able to rationalize, claiming that minority workers cannot be hired because of feared employee reaction.

Only one staff member mentioned any experience regarding apprenticeships. Whenever there is a minority applicant who seems to have the potentialities, this respondent sees that he is tested and counseled so that the young man will make a good showing at the apprenticeship board. The respondent looks for the best prospects as a way of getting "a toe in the door," and talks with the union and management representatives on the board. A skilled trade in cement work was cited as a field where some progress has been made in accepting Negro apprentices. Not all the apprenticeship boards had been contacted yet, but it did not seem there were objections to accepting Negro applicants for those fields where apprentices were needed. The data here were extremely incomplete.

J. Problems in Counseling Minority Applicants

Nine -- over half of the respondents -- said they do some counseling; and a certain amount of counseling is carried on in connection with the usual placement service. Following are some comments on problems in counseling minority applicants:

Negroes aspire to jobs they are not qualified for and are unrealistic (young females in clerical and unskilled).

They tend to go in groups to employers, and their friends wait for the applicant. For all groups fresh out of school, tactful suggestions are made about haircut, proper clothes, and demeanor at the interview. (Young males, unskilled.)

Negro women reentering the labor market, especially those from out-of-town, often don't know what jobs are open or the job requirements. They think that if they kept house they can therefore do domestic work.

Employers (of female service and domestic workers) say Negroes don't have as much drive and energy as other workers.

Some Negroes, especially those with low qualifications, show indifference and little ambition because they feel blocked. The conscientious Negro doesn't feel blocked, has an optimistic outlook and has no more trouble than the nonminority worker in

getting a job. (Semiskilled industrial and service jobs.)

Some Negroes have a chip on their shoulder, don't work up to capacity, and don't know what is good appearance. (Industrial.)

Oriental rarely are any problem, but sometimes strike out for things for which they are not qualified. The Negro is pretty happy with what he can get. (Sales.)

The minority applicants (Negroes in particular) don't "sell themselves," feel everything is against them, seem listless, uninterested, and ill at ease. Problem with speech, voice, push, personality, haircut, appearance, correct attire, and getting them to look respectable. (Young males, industrial section.)

Over half of the respondents thought that minority applicants (especially Negroes) expressed some evidence of defeatism regarding employment opportunities. The "vicious circle" mechanism seemed to be the operative factor: because discrimination was experienced or expected, there was often a low level of aspiration and lessened incentive for more education and training to acquire skills. It was pointed out that older Negroes tended to be more defeatist than younger ones, partly because older workers in general are harder to place than younger ones and also because the younger Negroes in San Francisco have more educational opportunity than the older generation had before migrating here.

Some of the elements in this defeatism among Negro job-seekers were described as the necessity to accept jobs downgrading their skills; inability to feel or exhibit self-confidence, due partly to expectation of discrimination; assuming the employer won't like them; reacting with apathy or submerged hostility; and becoming discouraged easily.

Seven respondents answered the question as to whether they usually encouraged or discouraged minority applicants from entering certain fields because of possible racial barriers. Three respondents said they encouraged, only one said he discouraged (sometimes from past experience), and one said the problem did not arise in her field (placing unskilled young men). One respondent placing women in service and domestic jobs said that Negro applicants are sometimes steered to State jobs, school cafeterias, and the vocational nurses' course at Galileo High School. A placement worker for young female clerical and unskilled workers said that minority applicants are encouraged to try for stenographic and similar jobs and are advised "to learn typing so they will become more placeable, but few do." Another respondent in the same field

said minority applicants are encouraged to go into "accepted areas" -- typing and machine operation -- but there seems to be little interest.

K. Farm Labor

A very large proportion of the placements at the Department are for farm labor, and these workers are predominantly members of minority groups. In the past nine years the number of Negroes in agricultural work has increased about tenfold. In 1947 it was estimated there were about 700 Negroes employed in Northern California agriculture. For the year 1954 the Department's Farm Labor location in Irvington gave the following placement estimates:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Farm Workers Placed through Department of Employment Irvington Office in 1954</u>	
	<u>Approximate Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Negro	7,100	62
Other nonwhite (150 Filipino, 70 other Oriental, 30 Poly- nesian, 20 Indian)	270	3
Mexican	2,100	18
Caucasian other than Mexican	<u>1,900</u>	<u>17</u>
Total	11,370	100

In October 1955 it was estimated that, of the more than 13,000 farm workers that would be placed during the season from the San Francisco offices, 90 per cent would be from minority groups. Much of this farm work involves recruitment of city residents on a day-haul basis. Attempts have been going on to stabilize this employment by developing more year-round opportunities, as in pruning work.

While Negroes and other minority workers can generally obtain these farm jobs on a merit basis, the work is largely unskilled and does not seem to offer much opportunity for acquisition of skills or for upgrading. In the occupational hierarchy, farm labor is a type of work that few nonminority workers will now follow. As in past years, these farm labor jobs tend to constitute a traditional "labor vacuum" to which the most recent, low-skilled, or disadvantaged workers are drawn.

L. Conclusions

The following conclusions drawn from the data obtained from personnel in the San Francisco offices of the California Department of Employment are based on limited information, since on many points the respondents could only give estimates and impressions, no records or statistics being kept of racial, ethnic, or religious identification of job-seekers.

1. The problem of the unskilled worker.-- In the labor market in San Francisco, opportunities for the unskilled worker are declining, and unemployment for this category is often at a higher rate and for longer duration than for more skilled categories. This situation hits the Negro group especially, because a relatively large proportion are in unskilled work. San Francisco does not have a high proportion of manufacturers in heavy industry, and there has been an out-migration of some industrial plants; these factors contribute to the shortage of unskilled openings. The expansion of automation will also probably contribute to a reduction of unskilled jobs and an increase of service jobs, with a greater demand for engineers, technicians, and highly skilled workers. Farm labor has absorbed some of the unskilled nonwhite workers, and some have found job openings in expanding or new factories on the Peninsula. The problems of acquisition of skills by Negro workers and of securing upgrading opportunities remain crucial.

2. The limited role of the Department of Employment with regard to hiring minority workers. -- The data from the Department suggest that it can play, despite its nondiscriminatory referral policy, only a limited role in facilitating upgrading of minority workers. This is due partly to the fact that a substantial proportion of its placements are in unskilled and semi-skilled work, in lower-level service jobs, and in farm labor; and also that many of the skilled jobs are handled through the unions dealing directly with management. Many of the white-collar jobs are handled "at the gate" by personnel offices or supervisors in the firms and through private employment agencies. Also, relatively few professional, supervisory, and managerial jobs are referred to the Department. The great majority of job placements in San Francisco are handled through other channels than the State employment service. In 1951 it was estimated that the San Francisco office of the Department of Employment handled only about 12 per cent of all job placements, and that, conversely, 88 per cent of all hiring in this city took place without reference to the Department. This estimate is believed to hold good today; if

there is a factor of error, it consists in a too conservative figure for the percentage of hiring done outside Department channels.

Of the relatively small proportion of higher-level jobs handled by the Department, many of these placements are in government agencies, where discrimination is uniformly prohibited by official policy. Many nonwhite workers placed in clerical, technical, and skilled jobs in the government apparently have great difficulty obtaining such employment in private industry. Changing from a job in the government to a similar job in private employment is sometimes complicated not only by racial or ethnic restrictions but also by a bias on the part of some employers against hiring former government workers on the assumption that their work habits and standards of performance are lower than those of workers in private industry.

Many sales and clerical jobs, and numerous "public-contact" jobs still appear to be closed to Negro and sometimes to Oriental and other minority workers as well. In industrial jobs and service industries some employers and some unions also resist upgrading minority workers.

Overall, a relatively large proportion of applicants at the Department are minority-group members. They often find other channels to employment blocked because of racial restrictions. However, the proportion of minority applicants for clerical, sales, technical, and supervisory jobs seems about as negligible at the Department as in the private employment agencies. It was not possible to obtain a clear explanation for this situation in this portion of our study; it is a question which apparently requires more intensive attention.

3. The adoption of an explicit, written policy of nondiscriminatory referrals by a public employment service is not in itself assurance of equal hiring and upgrading practices for minority applicants. -- One of the problems is connected with fact-finding and research regarding changes in occupational distribution, in rates and duration of unemployment, and in hiring and upgrading problems for nonwhites as compared with whites. Deleting references to race, religion, and national origin from the applications and records (as is consonant with equal employment opportunity) makes difficult any systematic research and compilation of comparative statistical data.

While admittedly difficult, there appears to be a need for more intensive research into some of the problems connected with the use or lack of use of the placement and counseling services by minority workers; into the fac-

tors which seem to be involved in limitations on upgrading of minority workers (e.g., incentives and attitudes of applicants; apprenticeship and training; vocational counseling; restrictive practices by employers and unions; communication problems with minority groups, employers, unions, and various agencies in the community; and especially, effective ways of communication to minority-group members about increasing employment opportunities for those who are adequately trained). An area in which research would seem especially valuable is what actually happens in the hiring process to well-qualified minority applicants who are referred to employers by the Department. A related question is the extent to which a nondiscriminatory referral policy means nondiscriminatory hiring practice.

Another problem area relates to implementation of the nondiscriminatory referral policy. There is no question that the central functionaries of the Department are endeavoring to implement and to interpret the nondiscriminatory policy in dealing with applicants, with employers and labor unions, and in the continuing liaison with minority, intergroup, management, and labor organizations. But some placement workers felt that a nondiscriminatory referral policy, with a refusal to accept restrictive job orders, and removal of potentially discriminatory items from application blanks are in themselves not sufficient to achieve merit hiring opportunities for minority workers.

The great majority of respondents at the Department indicated awareness of the need for regarding each applicant on his competency as an individual, and for trying to counsel, refer, and place him accordingly. In a few instances, however, some staff members gave apparently stereotyped responses. These respondents seem to have confused cultural and socioeconomic characteristics with "racial" traits supposed to be typical of all or practically all members of a minority group.

The Department evidently recognizes the need for training of staff members in regard to the human relations and interethnic aspects of carrying out its policy. This program undoubtedly needs continuous and intensive application.

Still another problem area is in follow-up with some employers who may remove restrictive specifications from job orders when they contact the public employment service, but who covertly turn down minority-group applicants, or employ them only for certain jobs or on a token basis. Since minority applicants, like others, rarely report back about their experiences, the Department has difficulty knowing when follow-up with employers is indicated because

of presumably discriminatory practices. One staff member indicated that some firms continue receiving employment service although they have not hired apparently well-qualified minority workers who were among applicants referred. According to this respondent, in such situations there is a tendency for Department personnel to begin referring only nonminority applicants to such employers despite their evident discrimination. If employers are sometimes given service on such a basis, this is clearly not in conformity with the policy of the Department.

One of the respondents pointed out that the name, place of birth, school where training was received, address, and work classification below one's training or education may give some employers clues to an applicant's race or ethnic identification so there might be restrictive screening. In some cases, a person assumed by an employer to be a minority-group member may be "screened out" in advance without even the opportunity of being interviewed.

Another question concerns the employment counseling which is given to some minority applicants. The stated policy emphasizes that all applicants who are counseled should receive this service according to their individual needs, interests, and aptitudes and not with any assumptions about racial traits or racial barriers for certain employment. It was not possible to obtain a clear picture regarding the extent to which minority applicants are made aware of increased employment opportunities for those who are adequately trained and the extent to which those who seem to have the potentialities are encouraged to acquire skills for upgraded jobs.

4. Overall incidence of employment discrimination. -- The discriminatory practices in employment concerning which the Department of Employment respondents reported cannot be assumed to be a reliable index of such practices in San Francisco's job market as a whole. All available evidence suggests strongly that the picture provided by these public employment service workers is substantially more favorable as to the extent of merit hiring than prevailing practices through most other employment channels. One factor is that the major proportion of recruitment of workers for business and industry -- probably as high as 90 per cent of all hiring in the city -- is not processed through the Department of Employment. It is reasonable to assume that some employers who follow restrictive policies simply do not list openings with a public employment service which is known to refuse discriminatory job orders or referrals. It is clear further that some employers still using the

Department's services do not actually employ without regard to race or color, but merely refrain from issuing discriminatory orders. Finally, it will be noted that many of the jobs open to nonwhite workers are unskilled, service, or farm labor, and that much of this work is marginal and at low levels -- this despite the fact that the Department of Employment has followed its nondiscriminatory placement practices since 1950, and may be assumed in that period to have exerted some influence on behalf of merit employment among its employer clients.

Although the data from Department staff members regarding employment discrimination are limited, they indicate that Negro workers often have great difficulties in being hired and upgraded in public-contact jobs, in clerical and sales, in supervisory and managerial positions, and in some skilled industrial jobs. It appears that Oriental and Latin American workers also encounter some obstacles in hiring and upgrading, though not so serious as those facing Negro job-seekers.

Chapter IX. EXPERIENCE OF COLLEGE PLACEMENT OFFICES.

College placement offices in the San Francisco Bay Region were queried in the summer of 1955 on their experiences and practices in placing members of minority groups. The survey instrument was a mailed questionnaire, and there were 5 supplementary interviews.¹ Of 65 questionnaires sent to placement offices and department chairmen or deans in 25 private and tax-supported colleges, there were 45 responses (69 per cent). Twenty-five respondents (38 per cent) completed the questionnaire; and 20 (31 per cent) wrote letters, most of which contained limited statistical data.

Colleges have become increasingly important as a source for recruiting employees, especially in professions, business administration, and technical and scientific fields. Many corporations interview candidates on the campus. Seventeen respondents reported a range from under 50 to 15,000 (including temporary part-time and permanent full-time) placements in the past year; with the median about 400. The total placements for those reporting was approximately 20,000, but this figure is incomplete even for them because in many cases it omits graduates placed by department chairmen independently of the central placement office.

The San Francisco Bay Area labor market study by the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, reports on employers using colleges and universities as one of their recruitment sources.² A total of 340 employers were interviewed. Their replies were as follows:

¹The questionnaire was similar, with some modifications, to one prepared and tested in Illinois for the study Experiences and Practices of Placement Offices of Institutions of Higher Learning in Illinois with Regard to Job Placement of Members of Minority Groups (Chicago: Illinois Committee on Discriminations in Higher Education, March, 1955). A copy of this report and permission to make use of the questionnaire were obtained through the cooperation of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

²F. Theodore Malm, "Recruiting Patterns and the Functioning of Labor Markets," Reprint No. 60, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley, 1954, pp. 510-15.

Type of Personnel	Number of Employers Responding	Per Cent of Respondents Recruiting through Colleges and Universities
Managerial and professional	310	26
Clerical	323	7
Manual	284	1

A. Findings

Because the number of responses in some cases was relatively very small, the percentages given below in such instances probably have limited reliability and validity. The significance of the findings is not so much of a statistical nature as in revealing the insights of some college placement officers into employer practices, and in throwing some light on the placement officers' own practices.

Of the 25 questionnaire respondents 10 (40 per cent) said they had some difficulty in placing students because of race, religion, or national origin; 11 (44 per cent) said they had no difficulty; and 4 (16 per cent) gave no answer to this general question.

No respondent said that specifications in job orders frequently include race, religion, or national origin. Eight (32 per cent) said they occur sometimes, 11 (44 per cent) rarely, and 6 (24 per cent) gave no answer. Some employers making no such specifications endeavor simply to skip the names of minority applicants in selecting candidates to interview from lists submitted by the colleges. Some college offices or departments have omitted names of minority applicants from such lists because it was taken for granted that given employers had not changed restrictive policies earlier communicated to the college.

A substantial proportion of employers' application forms or job orders received by the colleges request photographs and information on race, religion, and national origin. Over twice as many employers request such information as those making specifications of restriction or preference. Fifteen respondents (60 per cent) said information on national origin is requested often or sometimes. Eleven (44 per cent) said information on race is requested often or sometimes. Nine (36 per cent) said information on

religion is requested often or sometimes. Fifteen (60 per cent) said photographs are requested often or sometimes. It is not known what proportion of employers requesting such information use it to exclude minority applicants. Requesting these data does not necessarily indicate discrimination, but the possibilities for restrictive screening are obvious.

Following are illustrative responses received:

The head of a placement office specializing in teacher placement in a tax-supported college said, regarding discriminatory job orders: "These sorts of specifications are always by word of mouth, either in response to a candidate sent or in response to our questioning concerning specifications."

The director of a tax-supported college placement office noted that employers who discriminate rarely do so in writing. "Most of them say 'no Negroes' or 'no Orientals,' not in writing, but by telephone."

Several respondents indicated that some employers use slightly disguised or catch-all specifications, such as "Caucasian preferred," "Christian preferred," "Protestant preferred."

A private law school reported that some law firms use this broad specification: "Person chosen should be of the type we would eventually want as a partner in the firm..." (followed by a description of the partner's background in such terms that the religious preference is made clear).

The same respondent indicated that under disguised specifications this procedure is used by some employers of lawyers: Employer, in responding to a request that he interview a number of named applicants, replies stating that he will be happy to interview A, B, and C, but makes no mention of X, Y, and Z who were also referred but who happen to be Jewish.

Among minority-group applicants, Negroes were most frequently reported as encountering employment discrimination. Jews and Orientals were reported as encountering the same barriers, but far less often.

For Negroes, the fields in which discrimination was mentioned as most frequent were "teacher placement," "education," and "where public contact is necessary." One respondent said that in his experience limitations against Negroes fell into "no particular concentration." For Jews the problems came mainly in placement in law offices and teaching positions in Eastern private universities. For Orientals the most difficult fields were reported as pub-

lic accounting, administrative and sales positions, and chemical engineering. A placement office in a tax-supported college reported, "Orientals and others of small stature are not easy to place in administrative and sales training." Several other respondents said that Oriental men lack the "aggressiveness" for managerial or supervisory jobs and are not accepted even in some lower-level jobs which might lead to executive positions. One placement officer said he advises Oriental students interested in chemistry to become research chemists rather than chemical engineers because the latter profession often involves public contacts and supervisory functions for which Orientals are sometimes unacceptable or "temperamentally" unsuited. It was not clear to what extent the respondent was expressing recurrent stereotypes held by some employers or was also indicating stereotypes he accepted himself. In some instances it appeared that placement officers attributed certain fixed traits to most members of a minority group.

Other respondents indicated a different picture to suggest that certain changes in hiring practice may not be taken fully into account by some placement officers.

From a department of chemistry in a private college:
"Since 1942 the shortage of good students in chemistry and chemical engineering, compared with the great demand, has practically eliminated any problem of racial or religious discrimination."

From a science department in a tax-supported college:
"On the whole we have not experienced much of a problem, but I suspect that this is due to the fact that much of the demand in science today cannot allow discrimination to retard a program in need of personnel."

Some placement officers and department chairmen evidently assume that because a given field has had ethnic restrictions in the past, this will invariably continue. Apparently in some instances minority students have not been informed (or convinced) as to growing opportunities in various fields which were previously limited. An illustration is this comment by the head of a forestry department:

We have no placement office as such because of the situation in regard to employment in forestry. Over the years approximately half of our men have secured employment with government which involves Civil Service examinations and ratings. Thus, the matter of race, religion, and national origin is not involved. Secondly,

the industry is very independent and scattered through the forested portions of the State. They make very few requests for men. They always want to have a look at the man in person and rate him upon physical appearance, personality, and the general impressions of competence in the particular lines of work for which they wish to use him. This naturally has nothing to do immediately with race, religion, or national origin. At the same time, the situation is so well known that there is small tendency indeed for men to try to enter the forestry profession if they are of the minority races. We have had about 1,100 graduates from this School of Forestry; none of them has ever been a Negro. In fact, no Negro has ever taken more than a semester of training with us. We have had several Oriental men who have found positions in research, horticulture, and allied fields. They know to start with that it would be difficult to get ready acceptance in ordinary woods work. Only about ten men have fallen into this category.

As far as religion is concerned, I doubt very much whether this enters in at all. There is a strong tendency for Jewish boys to be more interested in business and urban pursuits and professions, and relatively few of them try to get into forestry. A number of them have done so perfectly successfully.

The major obstacles to equal employment opportunity for minority-group members were described thus by respondents:

<u>Major Obstacle</u>	<u>Responses</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Resistance of "public"	8	32
Lack of understanding by employers	3	12
Attitude of minority-group members (hypersensitivity, resisting assimilation, expectation of discrimination, lack of aggressiveness, etc.)	2	8
Unequal intelligence, ability, or training of some individuals	1	4
No obstacles encountered	1	4
No answer	10	40
Total	25	100

Eight, over half of those answering this question, stressed "the public" (community attitudes or mores) as the main obstacle. Three specified the employer as the obstacle. Three (one-fifth of those answering) men-

tioned some attitudes or characteristics of the minority-group member as the obstacle. Some employers were reported as saying they did not hire minority workers, or did so only for certain jobs, because they lacked the "qualifications"; yet practically none of the college placement officers indicated that minority applicants are generally less competent than others in their skills and aptitudes for a given position. One placement officer pointed out that social class, family background, and "breeding" are among the characteristics some corporations look for in candidates for executive training. The placement officer concluded that Negroes, Orientals, and the native-born sons of poor European Jewish immigrants would hardly have the desired "background."

Another college placement officer with a divergent viewpoint said that the matter of ethnic "qualifications" is quite unrelated to the skills, aptitudes, and training necessary to perform a given job. He pointed out that a minority student who has completed his college training for a given profession is presumably as well-qualified as a nonminority student. Furthermore a college would be derelict in its responsibility if it graduated any student (minority or nonminority) who lacked the qualifications to perform adequately in the field for which he was trained.

Following are some comments by college placement officers on the obstacles to equal employment opportunity. It will be noted that in several instances "social" factors are suggested as having a bearing upon hiring or upgrading minority-group members.

In training opportunities for administrative positions there appears to be more hesitancy to employ members of a minority group. Women can also be considered to be members of a minority group as far as this type of employment is concerned.

[Need] better understanding on the part of the employers and equal responsibility assumed by minority members.

The blind acceptance of stereotyped culture attitudes by the majority and the insistence of minorities to perpetuate their minority identification.

Public prejudice.

(1) General cultural lag. (2) Some law firms defer to what they believe to be their clients' demands, but we have recently heard of a firm which intends to modify the former discriminatory practice because so many of its clients are now Jewish.

Imagined public pressure, i.e., employers are afraid to hire persons that the public might object to.

Community feeling. [School] administrators are usually willing but wish to avoid community opposition.

The minority members' oversensitivity to possible discrimination.

The public they must deal with.

From a private law school: "Problems of discriminatory hiring do not loom large in relation to the total number of referrals made to employers. Largest single problem: refusal to hire Jewish students. Next largest: specific requests for persons of a particular religion (must be Catholic, Mormon, etc.)."

From a school of veterinary medicine: "More opportunities for minority groups to receive and demonstrate professional training."

From a private college with sectarian sponsorship: "Our Placement Bureau is ...used principally for teacher placement. We have several times encountered real prejudice, especially against Negroes and Orientals, towards our students otherwise fully qualified."

Several respondents indicated that the part-time, temporary student employment was generally less restrictive against minority applicants than permanent, full-time work:

Although it is seldom mentioned, we suspect that discrimination more often affects the selection or non-selection of candidates for executive training.

Law firms which might be willing to employ any reasonably qualified student for temporary work tend to be more selective when hiring permanently.

Here are some answers to the question, "What special problems, if any, are there with employers in referring and placing minority-group students?"

A tax-supported college placement office: "Public-contact difficulties."

A teacher placement office: "Many employers of teachers hesitate to refer Negro or Oriental candidates to their Boards of Education for approval."

A public college placement office: "Some employers feel that students who come from countries where labor is cheap do not have the practical background

of American boys who work regardless of social and financial status."

A junior college placement office: "(1) Lack of acceptance on the part of employees now working there.
(2) Prejudice in general."

A psychology department: "We are not always certain whether employers wish to have this type of information."

An agricultural school: "No problems, simply an indication on some specific jobs that they can't use Orientals -- for example sales or public relations jobs in agriculture."

The placement office of a private college: "Referring and placing qualified Negro teachers and occupational therapists."

A law school: "Some law offices require that employees be Gentiles or be members of some particular religious group."

A teacher placement office in a public college: "If no members of that minority group in community, prefer not to employ."

A school of veterinary medicine: "No problems. Some selection occasionally based on prejudices of public. Student must deal with."

B. Practices of the College Placement Offices

Fifteen of the 25 questionnaire respondents described their employment registration forms. Seven (28 per cent) ask about national origin, 6 (24 per cent) ask for photograph, 3 (12 per cent) ask about religion, and 5 (20 per cent) ask for none of these. While none of the forms were reported as asking about race, 6 respondents (24 per cent) make a note or code on the minority registrants' card of his race or ethnic identification (especially for Negroes and Orientals). Ten (40 per cent) do not, and 9 (36 per cent) gave no answer on this point.

Ten respondents (40 per cent) make available to the employer information on race, religion, or national origin, or send in the applicant's photograph -- even when not requested by the employer to do so. Fourteen of 15 respondents said they accept job orders requesting information on race, religion, national origin, or a photograph. Ten respondents (40 per cent) said they accept job orders with a discriminatory specification, 4 (16 per cent) do not, and 11

(44 per cent) gave no answer.

In regard to steps taken when the employer sends in a discriminatory order, or on the basis of past experience is believed to have such a policy, of the 16 respondents (64 per cent) answering this question, only one indicated effort on his part by way of interpretation or guidance to the minority student with respect to discriminatory employers. Two respondents make some interpretation to such employers, and a third refers minority applicants to such employers only if he is the sole qualified candidate for the job, and after discussion with the employer. Despite the fact that relatively few of the placement officers reported exerting any educational effort upon employers with restrictive practices, or in counseling minority students about such situations, the placement officers generally hold the view, "We always attempt to place applicants on the basis of their ability to perform on the job."

Six respondents (almost a quarter) reported occasional experience with employers who do not issue restrictive specifications but who, nonetheless, apparently discriminate in hiring and upgrading. Estimates as to the percentage of firms or institutions served which have restrictive practices ranged from 0 to 90 per cent. Eight (half of the respondents answering this question) estimated the figure as 0 to 5 per cent; one, 5 to 10 per cent; one said 50 per cent; one said 70 per cent; one said 90 per cent; and four replied, "Don't know." Several said there is sometimes little relationship between the factor of inclusion of racial or religious specifications on a job order and the practice of discrimination by that employer. For instance, a placement office which believed 50 per cent of the employers it served to be discriminatory, estimated that "practically none -- less than 1 per cent" of the job orders carried racial and religious specifications.

Among 11 respondents (44 per cent) who gave their views as to how the obstacles to equal employment opportunity might be overcome, 7 (28 per cent) stressed "education," but almost none specified the content or methods of such education or who was to be educated. Two respondents stressed individual negotiation with the employer. One questionnaire respondent and one respondent by letter mentioned FEPC as a possible remedy. No questionnaire respondent suggested vocational guidance in answering this question, nor was mention made of any liaison with minority or intergroup social agencies in the community. No respondent mentioned administrative action by his institution as a possible course, nor was there any reference to the President's

Committee on Government Contracts as a possible resource in fostering merit employment.

While many respondents were at state institutions of higher learning, none made any reference to or suggested adopting an approach such as that of the State Department of Employment, which will not accept discriminatory job orders, which carries no reference to race, religion, or national origin on its forms, which endeavors to provide guidance to job applicants and to promote the principle of merit employment among employers, and which maintains liaison, through an advisory committee, with community agencies concerned with minority-group problems.

While several respondents mentioned difficulties of placing Negro and Oriental applicants for teaching positions, none referred to a new State law which declares a policy against discrimination in teacher hiring in the public schools. The statute having been enacted in 1955, there had been little opportunity at the time of this study to determine its effect on practices. One respondent reported that apparently opportunities for teachers who are minority-group members have been increasing recently in various communities in California.

The survey of college placement offices suggests that many of them tend to accept as unalterable or as highly resistant to change "the mores" and "community patterns" of employment discrimination. However, several respondents indicate that where they establish and hold to a merit referral policy this does not encounter the anticipated resistance. One law school, for example, had at one time believed that until all the law schools, public and private, in California should adopt a uniform policy on nondiscriminatory referrals little could be done about restrictions by law firms. Then in one instance a high-ranking student who was Jewish was not included among those to be interviewed by a certain law firm because the school assumed Jewish applicants would not be considered. In checking directly with this law firm the student ascertained that it no longer discriminated on this basis and would have interviewed him. The law school has now adopted the practice of not asking candidates about religion; if a firm wishes this information, it will have to ask the applicant. Jewish graduates are now referred to employers for interview on the same basis as others. This procedure does not prevent a law firm from discriminating, but it removes the tax-supported school from playing a role in the discriminatory pattern, and it increases the possibilities that the minority-group applicant will at least be interviewed.

A respondent in a private law school stressed the same point about discrimination against Jewish graduates by a number of law firms, but indicated that when the school submits a list of the best-qualified graduates (including those who are Jewish and with no designation of religion) the employers often skip over the names they believe to be Jewish and interview the others.

The supplementary data from the five interviews are too limited and not representative enough for statistical generalization, but they suggest that some college placement officers:

- (1) Advise and channel minority students toward entering certain fields and avoiding others because of possible restrictions.
- (2) Ask employers if they have racial or religious preferences even if the employer does not indicate any.
- (3) Accept racial or religious stereotypes which characterize all members of a given minority group as unqualified for certain professions or for managerial and supervisory positions.
- (4) Consider token employment of one or two minority employees by a firm or institution as effective personnel practice.
- (5) Believe that their primary function is simply that of a referral agency "to give the employer what he prefers," and that the placement officer has no right to question or attempt to modify employer preferences.
- (6) Indicate little familiarity with or interest in the subject of merit employment.
- (7) Believe that for many positions, a minority applicant must be not only as good as but better than a non-minority applicant, and even then may meet resistance.

There were others among the 45 respondents -- fewer than those with the views cited above -- who had a quite different approach to their function. Typical of this viewpoint is the head of a college counseling service who indicated that his approach differs from that of many educational institutions in Northern California:

The preparation of students. . . is primarily for professional fields or for administrative.

Our philosophy in all counseling is to help the student determine his own abilities, interests, and

personality and emotional needs, and to prepare accordingly, with some reference, of course, to labor market demand and supply. However, we feel that, if a person develops himself in the direction of his own best abilities and strongest interests, he has the best opportunity for future success, even though there is a relative over-supply in the field of his training. We would never steer any student, including those who are members of a minority group, away from the field which is appropriate to him. We believe in full preparation in the appropriate field, with a subsequent intensive effort to create the opportunity if it does not already exist. The one protection we frequently attempt to afford with members of minority groups is to discuss in counseling alternate appropriate goals of reasonably equal suitability in fields that are apt to be open, with perhaps greater thoroughness. We maintain an extensive library of current occupational materials, providing information on opportunities, requirements, salaries, and so forth. We make a special point of having this material kept current and accurate, so that if there are particular barriers in employment this information may be obtained in this fashion.

We do not in counseling give advice to students. We attempt to help them obtain information about themselves and about the world of work; to think through their problems and make their own choice and selection. We frequently in counseling find the need to cope with the student's own doubts and fears regarding opportunity and employment, and also to counsel in regard to the problem of being a member of a minority group.

In regard to placement, we feel that a great deal more could and should be done to develop opportunities for members of minority groups. I am personally greatly encouraged over the progress that has been made in the Bay Area over the past ten years, and am very hopeful that this progress will continue at an increasing rate. My opinion is that legislation is a very necessary first step, and that there is room for a considerable amount of employer education, particularly by those directly concerned with placement.

C. Conclusions

It was not possible to ascertain what percentage of students in a given college were minority-group members and to make comparisons between them and nonminority students as to level of aspiration, frequency of application for placement service, or possible differentials in treatment. Some placement offices reported they have few minority applicants (especially Negro) and consequently limited experience in placing them in various fields.

By requesting information on race, religion, and national origin, employers who wish to be restrictive can do so without revealing their policy. In having such information on the applicants' forms in their own offices or by recording it on specific applications, the college placement officers facilitate efforts of employers who wish to screen candidates on a basis other than that of performance and ability. Other devices are, of course, available to restrictive employers, including, as reported, passing over minority students for interview, either through the employer's own technique of identification of such applicants or through omission of their names by placement officers.

With few exceptions the general practice of both tax-supported and private colleges is to accept and fill discriminatory job orders. The employers are evidently the main reference group of the placement officers, many of whom say that their aim is to give the employer what he wants without any question.

In positions of a supervisory or managerial nature, or where "public contact" is involved (e.g., business administration, sales, teaching, accounting, law, and public relations), employer restrictions against minority applicants seem more frequent than in other fields for which placement is handled. Some college placement officers, in counseling minority students, try to channel them into fields where they will presumably have few barriers, such as government service. In some instances it appears that these placement personnel hold stereotyped views about minority-group members. In other cases there is a denial of such views and an expression of being "realistic in laying it on the line to minority students." In a few instances it was indicated that the minority applicants, like nonminority, are helped in finding the field for which they are best qualified, and preparing for it on the assumption that such positions will become available to a qualified person even if the field is not a "traditional" one for minority-group members.

It was not possible to secure a full picture of the vocational guidance service given by the colleges. In some institutions counseling service is separate from the placement office. It seems (a) that relatively little guidance is given by these placement offices, and (b) that the counseling which is given sometimes pays little attention to changing requirements of the labor market, possible new occupational patterns of minority workers, or sociopsychological factors such as defeatism or expectation of

rejection on the part of some minority applicants, and the rather persistent habit of stereotyping of such applicants instead of considering them solely in terms of individual capabilities.

There is evidently great variation among college placement offices as to their procedures in handling racial, ethnic, or religious preferences and restrictions and in counseling minority applicants on these matters. Sometimes within the same institution the central placement office may have one approach and a department chairman a contrary one. Or, within the same placement office, one division for temporary part-time placement may refuse discriminatory job orders while the division placing graduates in full-time permanent work may occasionally accept them. A placement office may accept orders with racial restrictions but refuse those with religious specifications. The general impression one gets is that there is rarely any systematic, comprehensive, and explicit policy for the placement office and the departmental chairmen who do some placement for their own graduates.

A number of college placement officers are concerned about existing obstacles to equal employment opportunity and have made attempts to solve the problems in their relations with employers and minority applicants. Such efforts have generally been marked by discontinuity and by a lack of liaison with interest groups concerned with these matters in the community.

There appears to be a lack of communication and discussion among college placement people concerning the barriers to equal employment opportunity. Little occasion arises for development of consensus or uniform, consistent policy.

Chapter X. EMPLOYMENT ADVERTISEMENTS IN NEWSPAPERS

The presence or absence in employment advertisements of specifications relating to race, religion, or ancestry at the time of this study were not considered a reliable index of the actual hiring practices of employers. Such specifications, or their absence, in newspaper help-wanted or situation-wanted advertisements might reflect, instead, (a) what employers wished to announce concerning their recruiting practices, (b) employer awareness that explicitly restrictive advertisements would provoke criticism from various sources, (c) newspaper policy as to acceptance of restrictive material, or (d) in the case of situation-wanted advertisements, assumptions by the job-seeker as to the advantage or disadvantage to him of registering his ethnic identification.

Since, however, substantial proportions of employers were utilizing newspaper advertisements in recruiting, a limited check of such practice seemed worthwhile. The Bay Area labor market survey by the Institute of Industrial Relations reported this information (from its sample of 340 employers interviewed):¹

Type of Personnel Sought	No. of Employers Responding	Per Cent of Employers Using Newspaper Ads for Recruiting Workers
Managerial and professional	310	20
Manual	284	20
Sales	215	26
Clerical	323	38

Newspaper advertisements were also reported as an important recruitment method by an appreciable number of the 100 San Francisco employers interviewed in the present study.²

We undertook a content analysis of all help-wanted and situation-wanted advertisements in the four major San Francisco daily newspapers throughout the month of August, 1955. In this month two of the dailies carried 94.5 per cent of the employment ads: Newspaper A, 68.0 per cent; and Newspaper B, 26.5 per

¹F. Theodore Malm, "Recruiting Patterns and the Functioning of Labor Markets," Reprint No. 60, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley, 1954.

²See pp. 131-32 above.

cent. Paper C carried 2.3 percent, and D, 3.2 per cent. In circulation, Papers A and B together reached almost three-fourths of the daily newspaper readers.

We found that Newspaper D carried no ads with restrictive specifications and none definitely indicating merit employment. With one exception, Paper C also had no such ads; in situations wanted this paper carried 12 insertions (3.8 per cent of these ads) of the same item ("Chinese cook for family"). Since 97.9 per cent of the ads with racial or religious specifications appeared in Newspapers A and B, the analysis deals primarily with them (see Table 44). In each case the proportion of help-wanted ads with racial, religious, or ethnic specifications was very low: for A, 1.8 per cent (217 ads); for B, 2.0 per cent (58 ads). Situations-wanted ads were over five times more likely to include ethnic specifications: in Paper A there were 297 (10.2 per cent of the total), and in B, 356 (11.7 per cent).

With few exceptions, help-wanted advertisements with racial or ethnic specifications were for housework, primarily female, rather than for commercial or industrial jobs. About 98 per cent of Newspaper A's ads with such specifications, and 80 per cent of Paper B's, were in this domestic-service category. These were about evenly divided between employers preferring certain minority groups (c.g., Negro, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Mexican) and those preferring whites, including persons of Northern European immigrant groups.

Practically no employment ads in any of the four papers carried religious specifications. Except for domestic service or where religious affiliation might be a helpful qualification (such as a salesman for a religious book store), the newspapers apparently do not accept advertising with religious specifications. Neither Newspaper C nor D had such restrictive ads; in Papers A and B, respectively, they constituted less than .5 per cent of all the ads studied.

Very few help-wanted notices requested photographs: in Newspaper A, 68 (.6 per cent); in B, 40 (1.4 per cent). They were requested for some technical, professional, and other white-collar positions in insurance, wholesale or retail trade, education, nursing, and advertising. Photographs may be used to screen identifiable minority-group members, and are thus a potential device for restrictive hiring.

Almost no employer advertisements definitely indicated merit employment policy. Only one paper, B, had any such -- 14 (.5 per cent of its help-

TABLE 44. RACIAL, RELIGIOUS, AND ETHNIC SPECIFICATIONS; REQUESTS FOR PHOTOGRAPH;
AND MENTIONS OF MERIT EMPLOYMENT IN CLASSIFIED ADS IN
FOUR SAN FRANCISCO DAILIES: AUGUST, 1955

Type of Ad	Paper A		Paper B		Paper C		Paper D		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Help-Wanted Ads										
Total	12,193	100.0	2,840	100.0	203	100.0	486	100.0	15,722	100.0
With specifications of race, religion, or national origin	217	1.8	58	2.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	275	1.7
Requesting photo	68	0.6	40	1.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	108	.7
Specifying merit employment	0	0.0	14	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	14	.1
Situations-Wanted Ads										
Total	2,926	100.0	3,052	100.0	315	100.0	227	100.0	6,520	100.0
With racial, religious, or ethnic identification	297	10.2	356	11.7	12	3.8	0	0.0	665	10.2

wanted ads). This general finding is not to be taken as a basis for inferences as to the proportion of employers running such ads who do or do not hire on merit. A firm may have a nondiscriminatory policy without mentioning this in its recruitment. It is evident, however, that practically none of the employers seeking workers through the newspapers chose to inform minority-group workers that their applications would be received and considered on individual merit.

Two-thirds of the situations-wanted ads with racial, religious, or ethnic self-identification in Papers A and B were for household help, mainly female. The remaining third were equally divided between service and white-collar jobs, chiefly clerical. The most frequent identification was national origin; next most common was race, with the term "colored" often used. About half of the individuals who identified themselves were described as "white" or from Northern European countries; the rest were members of racial minority groups (e.g., Negro or "colored," Chinese, Japanese, Filipino).

In the month studied there was -- except for domestic service advertisements -- a virtual absence of ads carrying either restrictive specifications or indications of nonrestrictive hiring practice. Since evidence from other sources cited earlier in this volume revealed considerable inequality of job opportunity, it may be inferred that many employers engaged in such practices without choosing to reveal them through published help-wanted ads. Also, newspaper policy appeared to discourage or prohibit such advertising. At the same time, it is clear that this recruitment channel was not being utilized to communicate affirmatively to minority-group job-seekers the availability of opportunity-on-merit, where such existed. Whether a responsibility of this nature rests on the nondiscriminatory employer is no doubt arguable.¹ We would suggest simply that with respect to firms which have pursued a thoroughgoing merit hiring policy for some time and have achieved substantial work-force integration, knowledge of that policy has probably circulated widely enough to assure a continuing flow of applicants of all groups; whereas the employer who sincerely asserts that his policy is nondiscriminatory, yet who receives few or no minority applicants for his openings, might wish to consider "getting the word around" in various ways, including in some instances a merit policy designation in newspaper help-wanted advertisements.

¹ See discussion above, pp. 38-39, 95-97, 146-47.

Chapter XI. APPLICATION FORMS OF STATE LICENSING BOARDS

To what extent, if any, is identification of race, religion, or national ancestry requested in application forms used by State licensing boards for various professions, business callings, and vocations? Obviously, this is a state-wide matter, but since there are a relatively large number of practitioners and applicants in these fields in San Francisco, information was obtained on this point.

In December, 1955, letters were sent to 17 of the State licensing boards requesting copies of the application blanks for admission to the practice of various professions and business callings. All the boards returned these forms during the following two-month period.

Our purpose was to ascertain what questions -- direct or indirect -- were asked regarding the race, religion, and national origin of the applicant. The fact that such questions or related ones might be asked would not necessarily indicate discrimination. Likewise, a situation is conceivable where such questions were not asked but there was still some restrictive screening.

The inclusion of these items does indicate that information is requested which has potential use for discriminatory purposes. Even though direct queries are eliminated, the asking of certain indirect questions -- such as "place of birth" or "has your surname been changed?" or "parents' names" -- may elicit clues concerning minority-group membership. The request for a photograph is another item which may be used as the basis for antiminority discrimination, although it might be used simply for identifying the applicant.

In 1949, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith reported on a survey of admission practices in the professions of dentistry, law, medicine, accounting, and optometry.¹ Twelve additional fields were covered in the present survey; for these, 1949 data are not available for comparison. Except for the deletion of "race or color," the application blank for dentistry asked the same questions in 1956 as reported in the 1949 study: "place of birth," "native or naturalized," "has your surname been changed?" and "native of"; a photograph was also requested (see Table 45).

¹Ruth G. Weintraub, How Secure These Rights? (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1949), pp. 146-59.

TABLE 45. QUESTIONS POTENTIALLY INDICATIVE OF RACE AND
ETHNIC-GROUP MEMBERSHIP ON APPLICATION BLANKS OF
CALIFORNIA STATE PROFESSIONAL BOARDS: 1956

Professional Board	Questions on Application Blank						
	Place of Birth	Photo-graph	Native or Naturalized	Race or Color	Has your surname been changed?	Parents' Names	Native of
Dental	X	X	X		X		X
Bar (law)	X		X		X	X	
Medical	X	X					
Accountancy	X		X				
Optometry	X	X					
Architectural	X	X					
Nurse	X	X					
Social work	X						
Pharmacy	X	X			X		
Chiropractic	X	X					
Veterinary medicine	X	X		X			
Civil and professional engineers	X	X					
Total	12	9	3	1	3	1	1

In 1956 the form for law contained a question about "parents' names" in addition to those included in 1949 -- "place of birth," "native or naturalized," and "has your surname been changed?"

By 1956 the medical board had deleted three items used in 1949 -- "native or naturalized," "race or color," "native of" -- and retained only "place of birth" and the request for a photograph.

For accountancy and optometry the same identification questions were asked in 1956 as in 1949: "place of birth" and "native or naturalized," for

accountancy; and "place of birth" and the request for a photograph, for optometry.

Among the seven other professional boards surveyed for this study (Architectural, Nurse, Social Work, Pharmacy, Chiropractic, Veterinary Medicine, and Civil and Professional Engineers), all the application forms asked for place of birth and all except the Board of Social Work Examiners requested a photograph. In addition the blank for pharmacy inquired "Has your surname been changed?" and the one for veterinary medicine asked race or color.

The application forms used by the State examining boards for the 12 professions all asked for place of birth, 9 requested a photograph, 3 each inquired whether the applicant was native or naturalized and whether his surname had been changed, and 1 each asked for race or color, parents' names, and place of which the person was a native.

TABLE 46. QUESTIONS POTENTIALLY INDICATIVE OF RACE AND
ETHNIC-GROUP MEMBERSHIP ON APPLICATION BLANKS OF
CALIFORNIA STATE BOARDS FOR
VARIOUS BUSINESS CALLINGS.
AND VOCATIONS: 1956

Board	Questions on Application Blank						
	Place of Birth	Photograph	Native or Naturalized	Race or Color	Has your surname been changed?	Parents' Name	Native of
Dry cleaners	X						
Contractors	X						
Funeral directors and embalmers	X	X	X				
Real estate	X						
Cosmetology	X	X					
Total	5	2	1				

Among the application forms for the five State boards for business callings and vocations, only three of the identification questions were found: place of birth (on all 5 forms), photograph (on 2), and "native or naturalized" (on 1). While applications for the dry cleaners, contractors, and real estate examiners carried only the place-of-birth item, that for the Board of Cosmetology asked for a photograph in addition, and the blank for the Board of Funeral Directors and Embalmers included all three questions (see Table 46).

In summary, all 17 boards asked place of birth, 11 (64.7 per cent) requested a photograph, 4 (23.5 per cent) asked whether the applicant was a native or naturalized, 3 (17.6 per cent) asked whether his surname had been changed, and 1 (5.9 per cent) each asked race or color and the place of which he was a native. About half of the boards used two identification questions -- most frequently place of birth and photograph.

Most application blanks, in addition to asking place of birth, request a photograph or other information which in many cases would provide a basis for identification of applicants according to racial or ethnic minority group. We have no evidence -- and make no implication -- that any of these questions has actually been used in a discriminatory fashion by any State board. Although removal of these requirements from State licensing application forms manifestly would not in itself guarantee absolute equality of treatment to all candidates, this would seem to be one step which would increase the likelihoood of such treatment in all cases.

Chapter XII. CONCLUSIONS

In considering the findings of this study it will be useful to recall that:

1. We have been concerned only with private employment practices in San Francisco proper.
2. The city is primarily a center of finance, commerce, administrative headquarters, processing and distributive activities, shipping, and light manufacturing, in addition to extensive governmental offices and installations.
3. Overall employment stood at high levels during the period of the study, with some labor shortages in clerical and in certain skilled, technical, and professional categories.
4. No fair employment law was in force nor in imminent prospect of adoption at the time of our field work,¹ though the possibility of revival of the issue at local or state level was apparently a source of concern to some employers, probably causing their reports to be biased toward understatement of restrictive practices. This factor appears not to have had any such effect on other groups of respondents.
5. Organized labor in San Francisco is traditionally strong and predominantly AFL in former affiliation and orientation. (Merger of AFL and CIO union locals and councils had not occurred as this volume went to press.)
6. Of the several minority groups which have encountered discrimination in San Francisco, Jews have been among the city's builders and leaders since pioneer days, and have long held positions of high business, professional, and civic esteem; persons of Chinese descent, brought here a century ago, originally suffered extreme persecution, and, later, severe forms of discrimination which have diminished slowly to the present day; Japanese, Filipino, and Mexican Americans, and others have successively experienced roughly similar histories; and Negro immigrants arrived in San Francisco in appreciable numbers only during and since World War II, to become the latest of the identifiable minority populations. (Population statistics for the foregoing groups are given in Table 47 of the Appendix.)

¹A San Francisco fair employment practice ordinance, establishing a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, was enacted on July 8, 1957, and became effective August 9 of the same year. This enactment took place subsequent to the writing of the first eleven chapters of the present report.

Our first general conclusion is that employment opportunity in private industry in San Francisco is still widely restricted according to race. These restrictions are experienced most acutely by Negro members of the labor force, and less so by Orientals and other nonwhites of Asian background. While the employment situation for Jewish persons is much more favorable than for nonwhites, they still face certain inequalities, usually of the "gentlemen's agreement" kind and at relatively high position levels. Latin Americans -- principally those of Mexican origin -- also encounter certain limitations of job opportunity.

Practices short of merit employment¹ are found in a great variety of forms and may differ sharply as between industries, firms within the same industry, departments within the same firm, or even job levels within the same department. No single formula would adequately describe the diversity of hiring and upgrading policies which obtain. We have noted, for example, that in some occupations which are hard-pressed for manpower -- especially in technical and professional capacities -- Oriental men are apparently found increasingly acceptable; while for other categories, as in low-level, white-collar, trainee positions leading potentially to public contact or supervisory responsibilities, many firms do not consider such men. Yet some of these same firms may be entirely open to young Oriental women for clerical jobs. Again, Negroes may have been heavily represented among the personnel of certain industries for a number of years, yet still be found only in the lowest job levels and in those not entailing contact with the public. Certain occupations traditionally filled by Negroes in other regions of the country have not yet opened to them here. Jews are barred from, or present only on a token basis in, some professional and business offices; in others they are strongly represented among ownership or management, yet even in some such firms the desire of the Jewish owners not to limit employment to their coreligionists has led to preferential employment of non-Jews. These examples suggest only a few of the manifold varieties of practice affecting minority-group persons which were found in the present inquiry. It would seem that the patterns of differential job treatment by race, religion, or ancestry exhibit no logical design, but compose instead a large, irregular crazy-quilt of pieces and patches contributed, often casually or indifferently, by a wide range of people and institutions functioning according to

¹For definition of this term see above, pp. 3, 125-27.

assorted fears, assumptions, stereotypes, habits, and economic and social pressures. There is often no rhyme nor reason -- no consistent utilization of nonrestrictive personnel selection and advancement -- within particular industries or companies.

These variegated patterns and combinations of discriminatory and non-discriminatory practice are not altogether static. In the period that this study was under way we learned of occasional changes in particular firms or organizations. A Negro apprentice, for example, was reported as a "first" in one local craft union. A large department store which, when interviewed by us, reported no Negro sales employees, later hired one and apparently expected to continue this practice. A public utility reportedly placed several Negro women in certain non-menial jobs previously open only on a token basis. Then an added management interest in merit employment evidently resulted from the introduction of the proposed municipal fair employment ordinance in December, 1956, and the extended controversy over the measure which ensued until its adoption the following July. As in earlier debates over such legislative proposals in San Francisco, all principal employer organizations vigorously opposed adoption of this ordinance, arguing that they favored the principle of merit employment but that progress was being made on a "voluntary" basis and discriminatory job practices were not sufficiently serious to warrant such an enactment.¹

During this period there seemed to be some stepping-up of management efforts to recruit nonwhite workers. It is not known how extensive or successful these efforts were, or to what extent they were sustained after enactment of the new ordinance. Among changes which did come soon after the enactment were abandonment by a major taxicab concern of its ban against Negro drivers and a decision by a large union local to engage in active enrollment and non-

¹It will be recalled that a number of the employer representatives interviewed, as reported in Chapter II, said that they did not know whether nonwhites were employed in certain capacities in their firms, or could not estimate how many, and would not carry out or permit an observational count to be taken. On February 27, 1957, several employer and trade association executives, appearing before a committee of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in opposition to the pending fair employment ordinance, presented statistics as to nonwhites employed, by occupational level, in their industries. This information was furnished for metal trades, insurance, retail trade, building management, and hotels. The San Francisco Employers' Council also reported the occupational distribution of Negro and Oriental employees in its member firms on the basis of a November, 1956, survey.

discriminatory dispatching of Negro members.

It appears likely that further policy shifts of this nature will follow, especially among the larger and more conspicuous firms and unions, and if the fair employment ordinance is administered in reasonably active and thorough-going fashion, with due attention both to the investigation of case complaints and to the informational, educational, and research duties imposed by the law. Yet it would probably be unrealistic to conclude that the inertia, indifference, anxieties, and stereotyped thinking which so pervasively limit employment opportunity will be dispelled without intensive, long-term, many-sided effort on the part of the fair employment agency, employers and their associations, unions, placement agencies, vocational counselors, and various community organizations. While some specific findings of the present study will -- happily -- become obsolete from time to time, it will probably serve over a considerable period as a guide to those habits and tendencies which obstruct the practice of merit employment.

This study finds no basis for disagreement with the common-sense view that the main "gatekeepers" at the "doors through which workers enter jobs"¹ are the employers. Although certain roles relative to employment processes are played by other elements -- principally trade unions and various private and public placement agencies -- it is clear that in general the employer exercises, or may do so, the primary and ultimate controls over hiring, upgrading, and termination.

What of the other institutions in the labor market? Private placement agencies basically depend upon the employer for their existence; they must conform for the most part to his preferences, negative and affirmative, or go out of business. Although such agencies may elect, on the one hand, to engage in discriminatory screening of applicants, or, on the other, to try to "sell" promising minority applicants to employers, they have neither the power nor economic motivation to interfere with any employer's decision to recruit on a straight merit basis. This is equally true of the college placement offices surveyed and of the State Department of Employment. The latter has an explicit policy against accepting job orders with discriminatory specifications, yet the employer who wishes to do so may, with impunity,

¹These phrases are from Emily Huntington, Doors to Jobs (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942).

reject qualified minority applicants referred to him by the Department. Placement agencies, then, have no real control over the employers' hiring practices.

As for the power of trade unions in this respect, we have seen that while strong unions in certain industries have been in a position to exert significant influence for or against nonrestrictive hiring, the general truth is that, with regard to minority-group workers, most employers may, if they choose, exercise their traditional and stoutly defended prerogatives in hiring, upgrading, and termination. Relatively few of the major employers interviewed gave discriminatory union practices as a reason for not having hired minority-group persons, and other evidence suggested that even some of these claims were questionable. The two channels of labor recruitment used by most firms and ranked by most among their three chief sources were private placement agencies and direct hiring -- both sources being entirely or highly subject to management preferences. Third as to the number of firms listing it as a labor source and ranked high in importance was the State Department of Employment -- which seeks to influence employers toward, not against, merit hiring. Labor unions were fifth as to the number of firms utilizing them for recruitment and were ranked by the third largest number of employers as among their three most important labor sources.

Most of the employers professed -- through their authorized executive spokesmen -- a nondiscriminatory or merit employment policy. Yet in the same interviews this policy was revealed typically as so vague, so lacking in formulation, implementation, or communication within the firm or to its labor sources, so much a matter of option to department or division chiefs, or so uneven in application to various job levels and categories, that the term "policy" seemed almost devoid of meaning. In many cases the claim of merit policy appeared to be little more than a statement of wish or intention, or an impromptu declaration deemed by the respondent to be morally acceptable. These deficiencies and exceptions strongly suggest that merit employment policy is more often nominal or partial than operational and company-wide.

This conclusion is strengthened by other evidence yielded by the interviews of management spokesmen. In many instances their responses included information which tended to qualify, contradict, or raise doubts concerning their claim of merit policy. Among such information were reasons which they gave for not employing persons of certain minority groups. Substantial

numbers of respondents revealed unfavorable, stereotyped views of such groups, acknowledged fears of customer or employee objections to their employment, or indicated that department or division chiefs were free to discriminate in personnel practices. The stereotypes and fears held by management appeared to consist almost wholly of untested assumptions lacking foundation in the actual experience of the firm or industry. Less conclusive, but probably reflective of some degree of restrictive practice, were the fact that racial or ethnic identification was called for on a number of job application forms -- despite an earlier campaign by employer associations for revision of such forms, refusal of other respondents to show or furnish copies of these forms, and unwillingness by some to estimate numbers or permit nose-counts of non-white employees in various categories.

Among reasons for not having hired nonwhites in certain capacities, many of the employers cited absence of job applicants or lack of skills and experience on the part of such applicants. To the extent that either condition actually obtains, the employer is manifestly innocent of specific discrimination against individual job-seekers presenting themselves at his gate. The problem here again appears to be mainly one of deficiency or omission. As indicated by the President's Committee on Government Contracts, minority applicants (like others) tend to seek work where they think they will be favorably received and to stay away from firms, placement agencies, or unions which they believe to be discriminatory. This being so, the employer who has not always followed a merit hiring policy but now wishes genuinely to do so must communicate this fact to labor sources which can serve him accordingly. He must help remove the barriers which have grown up around his firm and which many assume to be still in place. He must make sure that word of the new policy reaches at least some segments of the minority labor force.

We have seen that the employer may exert considerable influence over his recruitment techniques and channels. For the most part, however, the San Francisco employers covered in this study have not undertaken to encourage a flow of nonwhite applicants. They have not endeavored seriously to utilize placement agencies, vocational counselors, newspapers, minority-group institutions, labor unions, or other channels to communicate their claimed hiring policies to potential job applicants and young people among minority groups.

On the question of skills, many nonwhites (as well as others) undoubt-

edly do not, at a given time, qualify for certain jobs. But the process of skill formation takes place in considerable measure on the job, and this can hardly come about unless initial entry at lower levels is permitted. Meanwhile, minority-group youth often see their parents and other adult relatives resigned to menial job levels, receive from them little stimulus to set their educational sights higher, and are often advised by counselors that the course of realism is to fit into those job categories traditionally open to persons of their racial identity. Development of greater and sustained incentives among such youth to train for higher skills would seem to require, among other things, that employers make their merit hiring policies or intentions known to counselors and to minority groups generally, and that they provide increasing evidence of the practice of merit employment through- out private industry. We have seen that nonwhites have not yet been hired generally even in those local job categories which demand few or no special qualifications, or for which companies conduct their own training; lack of skills is clearly not the obstacle in such cases. When nonwhite workers are accepted more widely in ordinary capacities -- e.g. retail clerk, waiter, waitress, service-station attendant, office trainee -- it is likely that a general rise in their skills will gradually follow. The San Francisco fair employment ordinance probably holds potentially great value as a means of lifting levels of vocational aspiration, training, and activity in job-hunting among people formerly without effective rights or recourse in the labor market.

We have mentioned that some employers exhibit stereotyped conceptions of entire minority groups. Almost one-third of the executives interviewed indicated that their firms' hiring practices were based in part on certain adverse assumptions as to physical, mental, or social traits which they attributed to the group as a whole, rather than on evaluation of the specific performance qualifications of each individual applicant. San Francisco employers are not alone in functioning according to such stereotyping; various labor recruitment and manpower studies indicate much use by employers of subjective and stereotyped criteria rather than objective determinations of the abilities and characteristics of individuals. Prevailing San Francisco practice in this respect may be no better nor worse than that of other regions, but our present findings do not support, in this respect, the familiar claim that employers here are well ahead in merit employment.

A curious contrast emerged between the anxieties and stereotypes entertained by employers with regard to the general prospect of hiring minority-group persons and their own testimony of satisfaction with such employees on the basis of their actual experience. Of the 74 firms reporting merit policy or practice, 63 answered a question concerning difficulties encountered under that policy; and of these, 62 rated such difficulties as none or negligible, 1 said there had been some problems, which were surmountable, and none reported serious unfavorable results. This finding is supported by other data obtained in the management and guidance conferences in which we participated during the study. Some of the most enthusiastic statements of favorable experience with minority employees came from respondents who otherwise revealed that their firms did not actually follow a consistent merit policy throughout their operations. It seems that satisfactory integration of a token number of minority workers in one or several job classifications or operations does not necessarily open opportunities in other jobs or departments in the same firm.

Many firms which employed some nonwhites limited them to certain lower-level job categories or to units (as in some retail chain stores) with substantial nonwhite clientele, or restricted the total number in the company or in a particular department according to a predetermined quota. Underemployment or lack of upgrading opportunity appeared to be as serious a problem for minority workers who had skills and some job status as unemployment was for others. The minority-group person not uncommonly faces a job ceiling bearing no relation to his individual performance and potential. Many employers still assume uncritically that they cannot advance such a person to the role of supervisor over nonminority employees.

We have noted that among agencies informed on minority employment questions, the prestigious and relatively noncontroversial President's Committee on Government Contracts has placed considerable emphasis on (a) the problem of restricted upgrading opportunity, (b) the fact that management fears about initiating a merit employment policy are unjustified when this step is taken firmly and without equivocation, and (c) the importance of having the merit policy come from "the very top of the organization" if it is to be implemented fully. The Committee has also laid down a reasonably clear definition of the combination of practices which it considers essential to administration of a nondiscriminatory policy by any firm.¹ Yet among the San

¹See above, pp. 126-27.

Francisco firms whose spokesmen were interviewed there seemed to be rather scant awareness of the program and requirements of this Committee which is charged with promotion of compliance with the nondiscrimination clause in contracts between the Federal Government and private industry. Some degree of restrictive practice was revealed among many of the employers who indicated that they held Federal contracts, and there was no appreciable difference in this respect between firms holding such contracts and others.

The foregoing findings and conclusions, arising from the interviews of authorized company executives, were generally supported and strengthened by the other main groupings of knowledgeable informants and by direct observation of certain employment situations. The informants providing this corroboration and amplification were of diverse positions and points of view. Included were management and guidance people participating in certain conferences; several nonexecutive, "inside" informants; a management consultant; a management association; a graduate student's study of hotel and restaurant industry employers and unions; placement specialists in private employment agencies, in the State Department of Employment, and in Bay Area colleges and universities; and various trade union officials and members. We also examined relevant portions of the earlier Malm study of the Bay Area labor market¹ and ascertained that our main findings as to employer practices were consistent with his. The older Stripp study of Bay Area union policies² provided useful background for our discussion in this realm.

The findings deriving from each of these sources have been set down fully in the preceding chapters and need not be restated in detail. Following are main, summary observations concerning the roles played by these several institutions with regard to minority employment and the significance of their respective contributions to the overall body of information we have gathered.

The management-guidance conferences yielded testimony -- apparently quite candid -- from employers and others close to management, tending to support the findings (a) that merit employment is a highly "sensitive" subject which has been accorded relatively little local discussion, even in conferences on manpower utilization; (b) that some executives still hold

¹See above, p. 139.

²See above, p. 184.

unfavorable, stereotyped conceptions of certain minority groups, and these views are reflected in their employment practices; (c) that the familiar management fears about instituting merit hiring have little or no foundation; (d) that discrepancies between employment policy acknowledged to be desirable and actual practices are common in local private industry; and (e) that in some cases, even when recognized by the management of a firm holding Federal contracts as inconsistent with the nondiscrimination clause, such discrepancies are not regarded as particularly serious, and there is no sense of necessity to correct the violations or run the risk of losing the government as customer. Another observation was voiced at these conferences which was expressed also by some of the 100 employers interviewed: that some personnel directors endeavor or would like to foster a merit policy within their firms but are balked by supervisors and department heads who are not required by top management to comply with such policy.

In a few cases data were secured from unauthorized management personnel below the top level and from other responsible sources intimately acquainted with employment practices. We did not undertake a systematic check of a substantial number of the 100 firms, but in several instances -- involving large firms and an important management association -- these informal sources yielded positive information conflicting sharply with the merit policy claims of authorized spokesmen. No generalizations can be made from this information except that it affords a further reminder of the discrepancies which may obtain between asserted policies, inoffensive preemployment application forms, and other apparent evidence of merit employment, on the one hand, and, on the other, actual hiring and upgrading behavior throughout a particular organization.

Direct observation of jobs held by nonwhites afforded reasonably reliable data on their presence in common public-contact capacities. Covered were fifteen department and specialty stores; numerous units each of certain major chains among banks, service stations, grocery stores, and restaurants; and representative "white-collar" private employment agencies and real estate offices. These observations strongly supported the conclusions (a) that Negroes and Orientals are generally not hired for public-contact positions and (b) that where so employed they tend to be in token numbers, in relatively low-level jobs, or in chain company units serving districts of high nonwhite concentration. Since these occupations require little or no special prior training, the absence or token numbers of nonwhite employees

cannot be attributed to lack of skills among these groups. The check of department and specialty stores indicated that, despite reportedly successful pioneering by certain major stores in the use of nonwhite sales people for some years preceding this study, most such establishments have not yet taken this step.

Closely related findings emerged from the special study of hotel and restaurant practices. Here, although nonwhites are employed in relatively large numbers, they are limited for the most part to menial and behind-the-scenes jobs, with little or no opportunity to move up the occupational ladder. Except for one or two of the unions concerned, there is virtually no evidence of effort by either management or unions to change the traditional patterns in the direction of hiring and upgrading solely according to individual merit.

The placement personnel in private employment agencies, in the State Department of Employment, and in various Bay Area colleges and universities appeared to reflect with varying degrees of adequacy the hiring behavior of their employer clients. Of these three types of institutions engaged in placement functions, the private agencies surveyed -- predominantly small businesses which, to survive, must serve management's stated personnel needs and preferences -- probably afford the truest mirror of employer practices. The managers of almost two-thirds of the 45 private employment agencies in San Francisco which handle clerical, sales, managerial, technical, professional, and other white-collar jobs were interviewed. The Malm study indicated that private employers in the Bay Area rely heavily on private agencies for clerical worker recruitment (62 per cent) and that about one-fifth of these employers utilize such agencies for management, professional, or sales personnel.

A striking fact encountered here was that not one of the 28 private agency managers interviewed claimed to refrain altogether from recording or otherwise retaining the racial or religious identification of job applicants. Use of such information was clearly considered essential and routine in their day-to-day dealings with employers. Moreover, of the 14 agencies which estimated the percentage of their employer clients who exercised discriminatory preferences or limitations, none placed this figure lower than 60 per cent; 6 reported estimates ranging from 90 per cent to "almost all"; and the estimates of 4 others fell in the 75 to 85 per cent range. In some cases these responses were qualified, as when one agency

respondent said that about two-thirds of his employer clients would discriminate in filling public-contact jobs, whereas perhaps only 15 per cent would do so for other positions. It appears that many of these private agencies either know or "take for granted" that most employers will not accept Negro applicants and that many will not take persons of other minority identity.

As found in other sections of this study, the minority group most frequently reported as encountering difficulties in placement of well-qualified individuals was Negro, followed by Oriental, Latin American, and -- rarely mentioned in this connection -- Jewish. Twenty-two of the 28 agencies stated that well-qualified Negro clerical workers would have some or great difficulty securing jobs. Oriental men apparently face more serious obstacles to positions generally reserved for men than do Oriental women for clerical and other typically female employment.

The data from the private employment agencies also indicate that the greatest resistance to nonwhites and Latin Americans tends to be found in finance, insurance, and wholesale and retail trade; with lesser but noticeable resistance to applicants from these groups in manufacturing, construction, communications, and transportation. Some problems for Jewish applicants were said to exist in finance, wholesale and retail trade, transportation, and communications. These resistances did not usually take the form of complete exclusion, but of employment for certain jobs only.

Few of the agencies indicated that they exerted strong efforts to place minority workers in positions known or assumed to involve employer resistance. Several of the respondents called attention to what they regard as the quite limited power of such agencies to affect the practices of employers who either do not wish to hire persons of certain minority groups or will take them only for certain jobs or on a quota basis. Those who apparently tried hard to place good minority applicants reported great frustration, especially from their efforts on behalf of Negroes and Oriental men. Often, it was reported, the jobs to which Negroes were admitted were marginal or temporary, and these workers consequently returned rather frequently to the ranks of job-seekers.

The private employment agency testimony with regard to the general status of Jewish job applicants was predominantly to the effect that less serious restrictions obtained than for other minorities. But this view perhaps cannot be considered conclusive in the face of (a) the report by one former employment agency worker of numerous instances of anti-Semitic hiring

restrictions, and (b) the possibility that the other private agency respondents may have felt constrained on several counts to understate the extent of such restrictions. The former report may have been biased upward in this respect and the latter downward. Note that twelve -- almost half -- of the agencies explicitly requested religious identification in their application forms. It seems that such limitations of job opportunity as exist for persons of Jewish heritage tend to be more covert and operative at higher job levels than those affecting other minority members of the labor force.

Among reasons given by employers for their unwillingness to interview nonwhites, the most common was fear of objection by other employees. Other reasons stated were that the company's "quota was filled," that such employment would be against company policy or tradition, or that customers would object. It is notable that almost none of the employers who would not consider minority applicants indicated that they believed these applicants lacked the performance qualifications for the jobs in question; individual skills and competence were not at issue. Refusal to interview applicants on the basis of a racial (or other group) classification obviously precludes the possibility that the actual qualifications of a particular individual might be found satisfactory.

The great majority of private employment agencies said that they thought their task would be easier if performance specifications, rather than race, creed, or national origin, were the only criteria to be applied in referral and placement. Yet generally their view was that they must "give the employer what he wants." Four agencies acknowledged that they did not accept applications from nonwhites, but other evidence indicated that the actual number who made only token registry of such applicants may have been larger, particularly with respect to Negroes. A few agencies reported that they made special efforts on behalf of nonwhite applicants. Most, however, appeared to fall in a middle group with regard to their attempted service to minority job-seekers, many willing to register them but engaging in little or no effort toward a placement which they see as unattainable.

The agencies generally operate on the assumption that they may not refer a qualified nonwhite without first checking with the employer. In some cases past experience with an employer has led an agency to conclude that such a check would be not only useless but a cause of irritation.

Often, it seems, the agencies do not consider the extra "trouble" and cost entailed in such placement efforts worthwhile as against demands on their time and energies by other applicants. Also, there is some reluctance to risk becoming identified as an agency actively serving minority applicants, based apparently on fear that, in this highly competitive business, both employer and nonminority applicant clients might transfer their patronage to other agencies.

A number of these private agency respondents appear also to share the unfavorable stereotypes of particular minority groups held by some employers. Acceptance of such viewpoints by placement agency managers probably affects the quality of service rendered by them to minority applicants -- and may have biased their responses in the present study.

The agencies which tended to discourage minority applicants or did little on their behalf usually disclaimed any bias or responsibility for such practices, placing them at the door of employers and nonminority applicants. The few which did actively promote nonwhite placements reported discouraging obstacles.

The picture of hiring practices drawn by these white-collar private placement agencies accords with the findings derived directly from employers and other sources. Management generally fails to communicate its claimed merit policy either outward to recruitment sources or internally through all hiring channels. Many employers do not wish to have nonwhite applicants referred to them and thus seldom if ever consider such applicants as individuals. This refusal to consider nonwhite job-seekers is often said to be based on fear of customer or employee reaction, or stems from adverse stereotypes held with regard to an entire minority group; it is rarely attributed to belief that individual applicants could not meet the requisite performance qualifications. Where minority workers have been employed there are few complaints of unfavorable experience. Negroes face the greatest hiring resistance, then Orientals, Latin Americans, and Jews, in that order. Discriminatory practices do not necessarily consist of total exclusion from a firm, but frequently involve hiring only for certain jobs or on a quota basis, or denial of promotional opportunities. Bias or responsibility for restrictive practices are typically charged to other parties, never assumed by the respondent. Some placement and personnel specialists express the personal wish that they were free to operate strictly according to merit employment principles. Finally, employer claims of nondiscriminatory employment poli-

cies are often of questionable validity.

Turning to the public employment service provided by the State Department of Employment, we noted that Malm found more than half of his sample of Bay Area private employers utilizing this service for some of their clerical worker recruitment, more than a quarter for manual workers, slightly over a fifth for sales, and a little over one-tenth for managerial and professional categories. Of the San Francisco employers we interviewed who ranked their recruitment sources as to importance, approximately 40 per cent placed the Department of Employment among their top three and slightly over 60 per cent reported some use of the Department. Although no definite figure is available, it is sometimes estimated that this Department's placements may comprise 10 to 15 per cent of all hiring in San Francisco.

The Department's policy (since 1950) of keeping no record of applicants' race, religion, or national ancestry and of not accepting discriminatory job orders probably exerts a limited selective effect as to which employers use the service and for what job categories. One might expect that employers with extremely restrictive hiring practices would avoid the Department if possible. But there is nothing to prevent even this type of employer from patronizing the Department, since it is engaged only in referral and has no power over the employer's decision to hire or reject any applicant on any grounds whatever. The Department simply refuses to process explicitly discriminatory job orders. It may fill orders for one division of a firm, or for one job in a division, even though hiring in other divisions or for other jobs within the same firm is discriminatory. There is, accordingly, no necessary connection between the Department's policy on this point and that of employer-clients.

At the time of this study, moreover, the Department's policy had been in effect a sufficient period to justify the inference that employers regularly utilizing its services were well acquainted with the policy and hence, whatever their hiring policies, would rarely if ever submit a discriminatory job order. It seems likely, therefore, that the information yielded by our interviews of Department personnel is reasonably conservative as to the extent of restrictive practice among employers.

Most of the 17 Department placement workers interviewed estimated that qualified Negroes experienced "some" or "great difficulty" in securing various jobs -- especially those involving public contact, clerical, sales,

some skilled industrial capacities, and upgraded, semiskilled jobs in service industries. About half of the placement workers estimated that qualified Orientals met "some difficulty." Some difficulty was reported in placing Latin American applicants in certain job categories, but the data here were incomplete. No attempt was made to report on experience with Jewish job-seekers.

The Department of Employment personnel interviewed indicated varying patterns of acceptance and rejection of Negroes, Orientals, and Latin Americans in the respective industries served -- patterns not lending themselves to sharply drawn generalizations, but consistent with our previous findings. Underemployment was apparently most severe for Negro workers, as was duration of periods of unemployment. Several respondents handling clerical and unskilled placements reported that very few of the private employers with whom they regularly dealt would hire qualified Negro applicants, and some said that nonwhites were taken for certain jobs only.

A gradual decline in opportunities for unskilled workers in San Francisco was noted by these respondents, who pointed out that this would be felt especially by Negroes in the labor force, a relatively large proportion of whom are in this category. Their problems of acquisition of skills and of securing upgrading opportunities loom as increasingly important. The Department, however, seems able to play only a limited role in encouraging upgrading of nonwhites, since the great majority of local hirings occurs through other recruitment channels and much of the Department's placement activity consists of unskilled and semiskilled work, lower-level service jobs, and farm labor. There is evidently need for research on various questions concerning the relations of minority job-seekers to the Department's placement and counseling services, the matter of applicant incentives, how to achieve better communication among all parties on trends in unrestricted job opportunities, and the extent to which referrals of qualified nonwhites lead to actual hiring. It was impossible to judge whether or to what extent individual placement personnel informally refrain from referring nonwhite applicants to employers known or believed to be discriminatory.

Overall, the experience of the Department of Employment suggests that its formal policy of not accepting discriminatory job orders has probably had quite limited effect upon hiring and upgrading practices among employers utilizing the service. Meanwhile most of the city's private industry recruitment has been carried on through other channels which have not followed

any such policy.¹

Among the placement personnel of Bay Area colleges there appears to be little effort to widen the range or promote the practice of nondiscriminatory employment by private employers. As with the private agencies, the general practice of departmental and other placement offices in both the tax-supported and private colleges covered has been to accept and fill discriminatory job orders. Some of the college placement officers, in counseling minority students, seek to direct them "realistically" toward certain types of employment, such as government, presumed to present fewer barriers. A very few indicated that they follow a practice of advising minority (like nonminority) students to prepare themselves according to their own individual aptitudes, without regard to fields of employment traditionally considered open or closed to them.

The estimates of these placement officers as to the percentages of firms with restrictive hiring practice among employers they serve ranged from 0 to 90 per cent. Employer restrictions appeared to be most common with reference to supervisory or managerial positions, or those entailing public contact, such as business administration, sales, teaching, accounting, law, and public relations. Discriminatory job orders were said to be rather common; yet it was reported that some employers who did not submit such orders in fact exercised discrimination when the point of hiring was reached -- another reminder that there is no necessary connection between job orders or application forms containing no minority identification and actual employment practices. Although hiring restrictions reported by these officials mainly affected nonCaucasians, there was also some definite evidence of antiSemitic practices.

On the whole, the Bay Area college placement people surveyed seem to share much of the outlook and practice of the typical private employment agency in San Francisco, especially in seeing their essential function as serving the employer no matter how restrictive this policy may be. This is true of both the public and private institutions responding.

The role of unions with regard to equal employment opportunity received substantial but not complete coverage in the present study. It

¹The 1957 municipal fair employment ordinance now forbids discriminatory practices, including referrals, by any placement agency. At this writing the extent of compliance is not known.

appears that the great majority of San Francisco union locals have some Negro or Oriental members. Many endeavor to refer and encourage upgrading of these members on a merit basis. In others the nonwhite members are present only in token numbers -- which may or may not be traceable in part to union policy -- or mainly occupy lower-level jobs, with little or no indication of union pressure on the employer for equal consideration of these members for upgrading.

Absence of nondiscrimination clauses from a large majority of union-employer contracts appears to reflect a lack of aggressive action on the part of the unions concerned, or, in some instances, successful resistance by management to such provisions. A strong and determined union may be able to exert significant influence on behalf of nondiscriminatory employment. Yet, like most employers, many unions appear to content themselves with a merely nominal merit policy.

Certain other parallels between union and employer practices and attitudes emerged. Some respondents in both groups were more inclined to discuss purported justifications of restrictive practices than the practices as such or possible corrective measures. Again, it is true of unions as of employers that few broad generalizations about merit or restrictive practices can be made which would be valid throughout given industries or trades, much less for business or labor as a whole. There are on both sides some stereotyping of minority groups, failure to communicate word of claimed merit policies to vocational counselors, minority-group public, and others vitally concerned, and general passivity or default with regard to policy implementation. In such situations where there is little or no real interest on the part of either management or union officials in promotion of equal treatment, the minority worker manifestly faces formidable barriers. Lastly, departmental hiring autonomy within a firm -- an important reason cited by employers for restrictive practices -- finds occasional counterpart in the gap between an international union's policy and the behavior of a constituent local. In either case policy from on high means little unless it is made clear and mandatory for all echelons below.

Certain differences between the respective roles of employers and unions should also be noted. Probably most important is that the greater power to institute the practice of merit employment usually rests with the employer -- especially in large firms. Although some unions which have been in a position to press effectively for such practice have failed to do so or have

threatened employers with economic reprisal if they should take this step, generally the union role is secondary.¹ Many major San Francisco employers have long held the latent power to initiate merit employment despite union opposition. In any real contest on this question a number of factors (even in the absence of FEPC) would have tended to favor the employer: the weight of public opinion and press, the official nondiscrimination policies of labor councils and international unions, and, in some instances, the nondiscrimination requirements of Federal contracts, or the familiar California case law of *James v. Marinship Corporation*² and subsequent decisions. As a practical matter employers have rarely elected to challenge the position of restrictive unions. In any event, with the advent of the city's fair employment law little question would seem to remain as to the ultimate power of management to make and carry out the decision to hire without discrimination.

A second distinction between employer and union is that the former typically may exert more authoritative control over his personnel practices than the union official can, in the long run, over his members. The union chief, however strong at a given time, is typically an elected officeholder who is potentially vulnerable in the give-and-take of the organization's internal politics. Some union leaders, though personally sincere in their desire to end discriminatory practices, may therefore be reluctant to

¹An important exception occurs in some instances in apprentice selection. In certain crafts and industries where the union is strong and restrictive, the employer members of joint apprenticeship committees may either lack the actual power to override union objection to a minority apprentice applicant or may not consider the cause worth a fight. The present study did not sufficiently explore apprenticeship practice to warrant specific findings. In May, 1958, D. Donald Glover, Industrial Secretary of the San Francisco-Oakland Urban League, reported to us that there were no Negro apprentices in the electrical, plumbing, carpentering, or iron-working programs in San Francisco, and one in the metal trades.

²This ruling (25 Cal. 2d 721) held that where a union has a virtual monopoly on the supply of labor and arbitrarily excludes persons on grounds of race or color, or refuses to admit them on an equal basis, the union may not exert economic pressure to enforce a union-shop agreement with an employer. This rule was later broadened to prohibit any union, whether or not it has a monopoly over the labor supply in a company or industry, to seek through economic pressures or sanctions upon an employer to influence the employment status of any person whom the union will not admit to membership on racial grounds (*Williams v. International Brotherhood of Boilermakers*, 27 Cal. 2d 586).

press for reforms which they believe will encounter strong opposition by members or other officers seeking to advance themselves. The employer, on the other hand, though often expressing fear of employee reaction, is comparatively free to decide for or against a merit policy. While the union leader must win consent of a constituency in this matter, top management may exercise command.

Finally, whereas all major San Francisco employer associations long stood vigorously opposed to fair employment legislation, the leadership of labor predominantly supported such measures. The unions, aware of remaining discriminatory problems of their own, were willing to submit to regulation on this score. Employer spokesmen fought hard against it.¹

We suggest no sweeping judgments as to credit due management or labor for advancement of nondiscriminatory employment practice to date. Some elements of each have made notable contributions, while others have stubbornly resisted change. A large middle range of both employers and unions apparently have done neither; they are not necessarily conscious or determined discriminators but they have not yet critically examined their own practices and have done little or nothing to encourage integration in the work force. We have seen that mere presence of minority workers in a firm or union does not demonstrate that merit policy is observed; questions may remain as to quotas, occupational distribution, upgrading opportunity, or dispatching practice. Negro workers, for example, tend to be found predominantly in unskilled, marginal, or dead-end jobs, and other nonwhites as well are widely absent from positions involving public contact -- even where prior training requirements are negligible -- and upgraded to supervisory roles. Although zealous union representation of the interests of minority members could sometimes induce changes, the primary responsibility for such underemployment rests with the employer.

We must conclude, it seems, that the status of minority-group persons in the labor force, both as employees and as union members, is still generally and markedly weaker than that of others. "Minority" denotes smaller numbers and implies lesser strength in competitive situations. This meaning still obtains in most private employment in San Francisco, whether or not a

¹Following a decisive initial vote by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors for a standard fair employment ordinance, the employer groups modified their position, entered into negotiations with the proponents, and the two sides eventually reached agreement on a revised form of the ordinance which was then unanimously adopted.

strong union is present. Although hopeful beginnings have been made in many cases, relatively few employers and unions have taken the steps necessary fully to eliminate the differential job treatment associated with minority status. There is a reasonable abundance of professed good will and claimed merit policy, but these have yet to be honored widely and consistently in employment practice.

It is sometimes argued that minority-group members of the labor force -- particularly nonwhites -- are not employed because they lack "qualifications." Substantial numbers of workers of Negro, Asian, and Mexican ancestry are today unskilled or semiskilled. But we have seen that in referring to "qualifications" both employers and placement people frequently have in mind not skills or performance capacity, but certain unwarranted assumptions as to social or physical characteristics of the entire minority group. Along with this tendency to stereotype, some employers simply refuse to interview -- i.e. to examine the specific qualifications of -- individuals of certain groups. By "operationalizing" these stereotyped notions, the gate-keepers in the employment process help to perpetuate what Gunnar Myrdal has described as "the vicious circle": by limiting the opportunities of minority-group members, by keeping them at a competitive disadvantage, those who practice employment discrimination help to create the very "inferiority" which is cited to justify the discrimination. If one starts by imputing "inferiority" or lack of "qualifications" to Negroes, if this argument is used as a justification for limiting them to the least desirable jobs with poor opportunities for training and advancement, one "proves" himself correct by creating and enforcing that inferior status. Since income largely determines the amount of education children receive, Negro youth in low-income families are often unable to afford higher education. Since the grade reached in school in great measure determines one's income, low income and limited education are closely interrelated. Former Federal Commissioner of Education Samuel W. Brownell pointed out that this cycle of "little education-little money" is crucial in perpetuating the low-income group in the population and the country's failure to meet its need for highly-skilled and professional workers.¹

In the present study we have seen that San Francisco minority workers

¹"Level of Education and Income Linked," New York Times, November 20, 1955.

are still largely caught in the vicious circle. They have difficulty getting jobs partly because they are not considered as individuals and are assumed not to qualify. When they do find work it is typically at lower levels and without training opportunity or possibility of upgrading. Or they may be kept out of a certain beginning job simply because it constitutes the first rung in a promotional ladder leading to supervisory or managerial levels. On-the-job skill development, of crucial importance, is severely limited. The absence of nonwhites from upgraded positions is then cited as "evidence" that persons of these groups "don't go in for such work" or lack "qualifications." Placement offices rarely refer nonwhite applicants to the better positions. Some counselors discourage the youth from training for such positions. One general consequence is that few nonwhites -- Negroes especially -- are seen in those capacities in the economic world which are generally associated with high skill or with technical, professional, or managerial status. This in turn tends to create and reinforce in whites a stereotyped image of nonwhites as suited only to lesser jobs; and a great many nonwhites -- youth as well as adults -- suffer self-deprecation, drainage of morale, and lack of confidence or incentive to battle the heavy odds of the race barrier.

With reference to the vicious circle Myrdal pointed out that a favorable change in one factor would tend to bring about other favorable changes as well. Turning this "the principle of cumulation," he said:

A rise in Negro employment, for instance, will raise family incomes, standards of nutrition, housing, and health, the possibilities of giving the Negro youth more education, and so forth, and all these effects of the initial change will, in their turn, improve the Negroes' possibilities of getting employment and earning a living.¹

A number of respondents in local firms and unions stated that lack of education was a major reason for the absence of Negroes from higher-level jobs. Several studies support our conclusion that while education is unquestionably an important factor, it by no means fully accounts for these employment differentials. One such study, by sociologist Ralph H. Turner, analyzed census data to ascertain what proportion of the employment disadvantage experienced by Negroes would seem to be the result of educational deficiencies. He concluded that not quite two-fifths of the difference in

¹Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), p.76.

occupational distribution between whites and nonwhites is due to the fact that whites have more formal education. The remaining three-fifths must be attributed to other factors, including discrimination. Turner's conclusion -- that discrimination against nonwhites does not occur primarily as complete refusal to hire them but in refusal to do so for the capacities for which they have been trained -- is supported by the experience of a number of the private and public placement officers reached in the present study.¹

Similarly, Eli Ginzberg, economist of Columbia University and of the National Manpower Council, concluded from 1950 Census data that Negroes still earned far less than whites of comparable education. In the West, as elsewhere in the country, Negro college graduates earned less in 1949 than whites who had attended but not graduated from high school.² Ginzberg found the great majority of Negro workers, both men and women, in unskilled and semiskilled jobs not likely to lead to advancement. The greatest need, he concluded, is for industry to become willing to train able Negro personnel, to promote them to skilled and supervisory positions, and to consider them for management capacities.³

There is little doubt that the foregoing observations are valid for San Francisco, with application in varying degrees to Orientals and persons of Mexican background as well as to Negroes. It also appears that there are limits in some firms as to the level to which Jewish employees may realistically aspire. Although our data suggest that anti-Jewish restrictions in employment are, overall, substantially less serious than those based on race or color, it would be well to note that this is a rather limited, comparative finding, not a conclusion that merit hiring and upgrading obtain across the board. Anti-Semitic practice is no doubt less common in San Francisco, and the attitudinal atmosphere more wholesome, than in some other cities of appreciable Jewish population. Yet it is common knowledge within certain professions and industries that some firms exclude or restrict Jews. Evidence of such practices was revealed at

¹Ralph H. Turner, "Negro Job Status and Education," Social Forces, October, 1953, 45-52.

²Eli Ginzberg, The Negro Potential (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 38.

³Ibid., p. 41.

certain points in the present study, but it is likely that respondents were more guarded on this than on other questions and that our findings may accordingly constitute a considerable understatement of the actuality. A further inquiry would seem to be needed to develop adequate data concerning the range and levels of employment opportunities here which are open or closed to persons of Jewish heritage.

Employers, union officials, and others involved in employment processes express, when asked, a general expectation of increasing integration of minority-group people in the local labor force. One employer respondent who said he anticipated such integration in the long run cautioned (prior to the recession which commenced in 1957) that this process would probably be interrupted and delayed in the event of business decline. Other factors will no doubt determine whether and at what rate restrictions will be removed and minority hiring encouraged in particular firms, industries, and trades. We found little evidence of deep, stubborn resistance to the general idea of merit hiring, but correspondingly little recognition of the extent to which the slight beginnings to date fall short of standards such as those established by the President's Committee on Government Contracts. There is much claim of merit policy by management, but little serious and thoroughgoing implementation. Important elements among both employers and organized labor do not yet assume responsibility for promotion of or outright insistence upon nondiscriminatory policy within their jurisdictions. Generally, it seems that fair employment practice would become reality at a more satisfactory pace if both top management and union leadership would give this objective high operational priority. Unless elevated to that status, merit policy claims and intentions will probably continue to be too weak to overcome the tendencies to inertia, indifference, stereotyping, and fear which largely block the road.

Often it is difficult to perceive whether management and labor spokesmen actually hold little active and determined prejudice or whether they have only become more adept at concealing it. The incidence of stereotyping indicates that there is considerable rejection of people of certain groups merely on the basis of assumed characteristics. The familiar employer fears of anticipated customer or employee objection to merit hiring are widespread, are usually without foundation in the experience of those who hold them, and reveal surprising ignorance by management of the record of successful job

integration by various nationally known firms and by some on the local scene. Perhaps in some instances the statement of such fears by respondents was simply rationalization for a desire to avoid the subject altogether.

These and other reasons given by employers for not employing minority workers suggest that many will not change their practices significantly until obliged to do so because of some urgent needs or pressures -- such as severe labor recruitment difficulties, union demands, tightening of enforcement of the nondiscrimination clause in Federal contracts, or necessity to comply with the San Francisco fair employment ordinance. Top management executives, facing multiple competing demands upon their time and attention, are as likely as other humans to avoid or resist change as long as possible, particularly in a matter of human relations assumed to be quite sensitive and complex. They may well defer indefinitely the presumably troublesome task of creating and introducing new policy unless fairly convincing inducements are brought to bear. The local fair employment ordinance would seem to have an important potential role in this connection. We noted earlier that already the ordinance has had certain indirect effects on both management and labor. Until the end of its first year, however, the Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity lacked regular staff or budget and was unable to carry out its informational responsibilities. When the interpretive, educational, and promotional functions of the Commission are set effectively in motion, many among management, labor, and placement agencies will probably be stimulated to bring their practices into line without specific contact with the Commission. Others may not be jogged out of old habits until a case complaint is lodged against them. There is, in any event, promise that the new ordinance will become increasingly an instrument for the promotion of wider adoption and full observance of nonrestrictive policy.

Truly significant expansion of equal employment opportunity and integration, when it comes, will be recognizable by signs such as:

explicit merit policies promulgated in great numbers of firms with the full authority of top management and administered without exceptions at all levels and in all departments;

unequivocal communication of these policies not only throughout a company but to all personnel recruitment sources and channels;

location and use, if necessary, of new recruitment channels and techniques through which minority job-seekers may be found;

absence of token, quota, or segregated employment;

increasing demonstration of merit practice on the job -- especially in public-contact and upgraded capacities -- with resultant encouragement to minority-group young people to prepare themselves for larger job opportunities to come;

greater communication to minority communities -- particularly to parents and youth -- and to school counselors concerning both new job opportunities and the need for training;

abandonment of all minority-group identification in referral and placement processes;

union support of minority entry into apprenticeship programs;

addition of nondiscrimination clauses to labor contracts;

and generally intensified activity by labor organizations on behalf of equality in hiring and upgrading for their minority members and for job seekers in their respective fields.

Since restrictive employment practices do not necessarily stem from deeply rooted, immovable personal prejudice, but are often the product of habit, indifference, or casually held fears or stereotypes, changes in practice need not hinge upon profound, long-term processes of individual psychotherapy. Corporate or union self-analysis plus a modicum of up-to-date information about employment integration now readily available in many quarters will suffice. There is no mystery today about the principles through which enlightened business or labor organizations may inaugurate merit employment or membership policies; it has been done successfully in many parts of the country, including the South, and amply recorded.

The key to the matter is essentially simple: there must be the decision by top management that genuine merit policy will henceforth be observed in a firm. When this word is handed down with unequivocal authority to competent departmental chiefs and other personnel, the rest follows with relative ease. As with any important corporate objective, full implementation of such a new or revitalized policy will not come automatically; it must be given a reasonably high priority and regarded as truly important, even urgent; there must

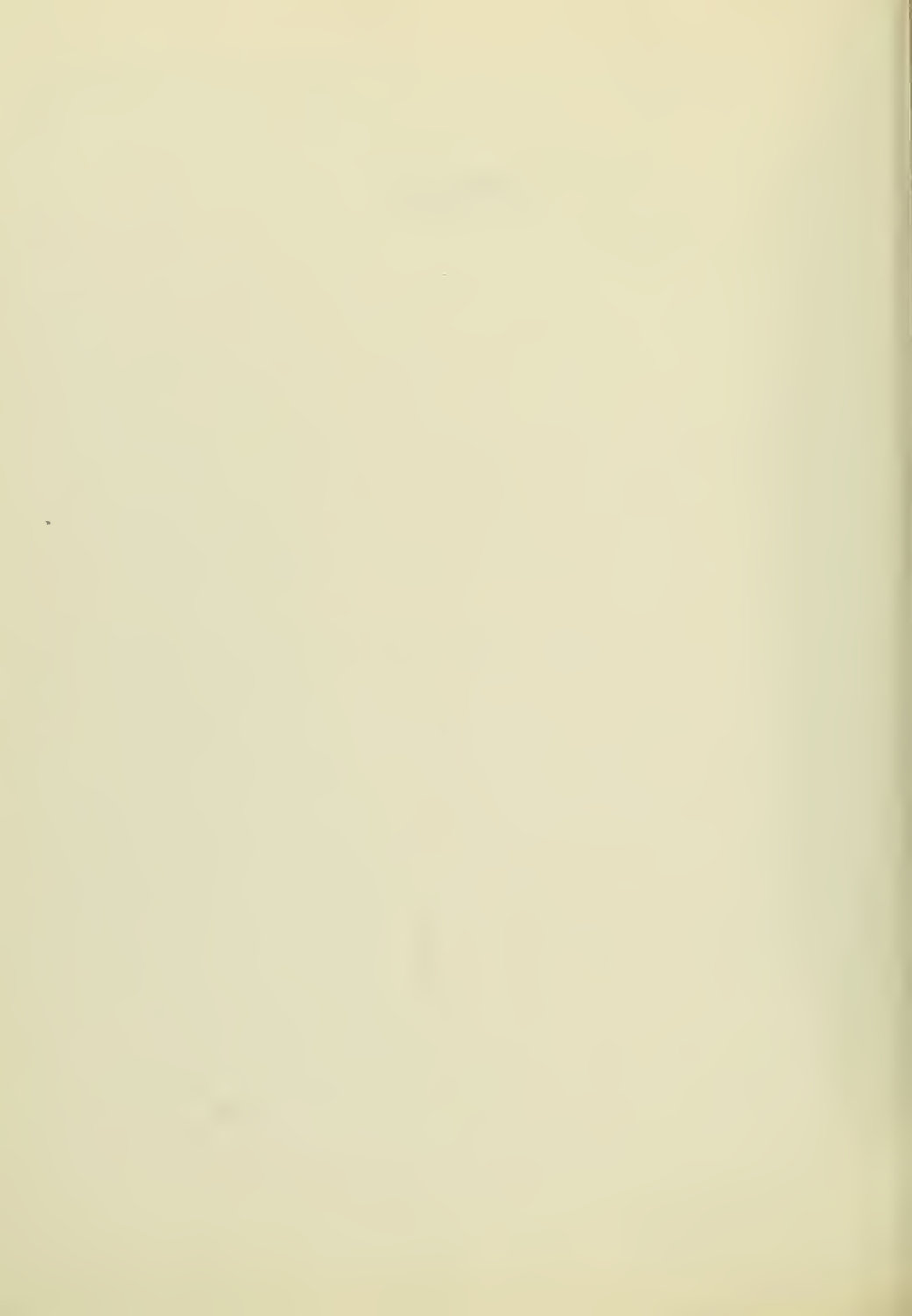
be assignment of responsibility for its communication, interpretation, follow-through, and promotion within the firm and among recruitment and training channels -- all processes familiar to going concerns. Given the positive, high-level decision, capable management will find means to carry it out. If desired, consultants may be called in from agencies such as the Urban League, Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, or Council for Civic Unity.

Major San Francisco employers have predominantly claimed to be operating under merit policies. However at variance with actual practice in many instances, such claims are no doubt important for their implicit acknowledgment of the desirability of the policy. The remaining task appears to be largely one of investing these policy professions with real authority and of bringing practices into conformance. Local law now places the weight of public policy fully behind such action.

With the advent of Sputnik I, manpower training and utilization became virtually a household term throughout America. A sudden urgency infused the task of expanding the ranks of scientific, technical, and skilled workers, both in the short run and long run, and in quality as well as numbers. Equal employment opportunity and its vital training-incentive corollaries were elevated overnight to a matter of national necessity rather than a possibility to be contemplated at some convenient future date. Can anyone today fail to grasp the connection between orbiting satellites, intercontinental missiles, and the nation's clear and present need for an all-out manpower policy? Merit hiring, nondiscriminatory up-grading, and providing all youth -- utterly without regard to race, religion, or ancestry -- incentive and opportunity to develop their full potentialities are no longer an option but an imperative which we ignore at the risk of survival itself.



APPENDIX



Appendix. DISTRIBUTION OF MINORITY WORKERS BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS, OCCUPATION, AND INDUSTRY

The body of this report does not claim to present a complete account of the economic status of the total minority-group population in San Francisco. This Appendix will therefore supplement the data from our studies of a number of segments of San Francisco's economic structure with the latest statistics available for the city and -- where the city figures are not given -- the Bay Area.

The United States Census of Population: 1950 is the most recent, complete, and accurate source of information on the nonwhite races and foreign-born groups, but it contains no figures on Jews as a special group. Table 47 presents the 1950 census figures and 1957 estimates of the total population and the minority groups considered in this report. The estimates of the total population were made by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce. The other 1957 figures were based mainly on estimates by leading members of the respective minority groups.

A. Employment of White and Nonwhite Persons in the United States in 1955

In March, 1956, the Bureau of the Census issued a report which gives comparative data on the employment of whites and nonwhites in the United States in 1955.¹ While no breakdown is made for specific localities or metropolitan areas, the employment patterns described for nonwhites in the United States generally seem applicable to the situation in San Francisco. The findings in our present study tend to confirm this point.

The nonwhite group, as defined in Census reports, includes Negroes, Indians, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, and a small number of other nonwhites. Since approximately 95 per cent of the nonwhite population in the United States is Negro, data about nonwhites are generally applicable to Negroes.

On the whole, nonwhites still lag behind whites in education, income, and type and adequacy of employment, despite the gains in the past two decades. According to this government report, although there has been some im-

¹U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Employment of White and Nonwhite Persons: 1955," Current Population Reports, Series P-50, No. 66 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, March, 1956).

TABLE 47. 1950 CENSUS FIGURES AND 1957 ESTIMATES FOR
TOTAL POPULATION AND SELECTED MINORITY GROUPS IN
SAN FRANCISCO AND THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Group	Population 1950		Estimate of Population 1957 ^a	
	San Francisco	San Francisco-Oakland Standard Metropolitan Area	San Francisco	San Francisco-Oakland Standard Metropolitan Area
Total population	775,357 ^c	2,240,767 ^d	810,000	2,671,600
Negro	43,502 ^e	147,361 ^e	50,000	180,000
Chinese	24,813 ^f	34,774 ^g	30,000	40,000
Japanese	5,579 ^f	13,762 ^h	7,000	17,000
Filipino	...	11,803 ⁱ	...	12,000
Mexican	...	...	20,000 ^j	...
Foreign-born	5,623 ^k	13,906 ^m	...	...
Native-born of foreign or mixed parentage	7,955 ^k	...	...	...
Jewish	...	...	55,000	75,000

^aSources: Total population figures from San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, other figures based on estimates by leading members of the respective minority groups. Note: The State Department of Finance estimates the July 1, 1957, total population figures to be 776,000 for San Francisco and 2,630,700 for the San Francisco-Oakland Standard Metropolitan Area ("Population of California's Areas and Counties in 1957" [Sacramento: Department of Finance, Budget Division, Financial Research Section, October, 1957], Table 5, p. 12).

^bComprised of Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, San Francisco, San Mateo, and Solano Counties.

^cU. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950, General Characteristics, California, Table 34, p. 102.

^dIbid., Table 10, p. 51.

^eU. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950, Special Reports, Nonwhite Population by Race, Table 15, p. 59.

^fU. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950, General Characteristics, California, Table 47, p. 179.

^gU. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950, Special Reports, Nonwhite Population by Race, Table 18, p. 64.

^hIbid., Table 17, p. 63.

ⁱIbid., Table 19, p. 65.

^jThis estimate includes all persons of Mexican ancestry.

^kU. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950, Special Reports, Nativity and Parentage, Table 13, p. 8.

^mU. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950, General Characteristics, California, Table 34a, p. 105.

... -- Figure not available.

provement since the end of World War II, occupational differentials continue to be quite large, with nonwhites predominating in relatively unskilled, low-paying fields. A wide gap remains between kinds of work typically available to nonwhite and to white workers.

Whereas 12 per cent of the nonwhite workers were in professional, technical, managerial, and other white-collar occupations, 42 per cent of the white workers were in these jobs. The proportions, however, were reversed in service and other unskilled nonfarm occupations, which employed about 47 per cent of the nonwhite workers and 14 per cent of the whites. Private households, personal service industries, and agriculture each accounted for a larger percentage of the nonwhite employed group than of the white. While a larger proportion of the white employed workers than of the nonwhite were in manufacturing, the Census Bureau suggests that "the difference is mainly in the skilled (craftsmen) category rather than in the semiskilled or unskilled jobs." The report continues, "Other industries in which the whites still hold a long lead are wholesale and retail trade (where there is a good deal of self-employment) and some of the higher paying service activities (finance, business services, etc.). Both groups now show similar proportions in the public administration field."¹

Table 48 shows the changes between 1948 and 1955 in the occupational distribution of whites and nonwhites.

¹Ibid., p. 3.

TABLE 48. EMPLOYED PERSONS, BY COLOR AND MAJOR OCCUPATION
GROUP: ANNUAL AVERAGES, 1955 AND 1948^a

Major Occupation Group	Per Cent			
	White		Nonwhite	
	1955	1948	1955	1948
Professional, technical, and kindred wks.	+9.8	7.2	+3.5	2.4
Farmers and farm operators	6.0	7.8	5.0	8.5
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	11.1	11.6	2.3	2.3
Clerical and kindred workers	14.2	13.6	4.9	3.3
Sales workers	6.9	6.7	1.3	1.1
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers..	14.1	14.6	5.2	5.3
Operatives and kindred workers	20.2	21.0	20.9	20.1
Private household workers	1.8	1.5	14.8	15.6
Service workers, except private household.	7.2	6.4	16.8	14.7
Farm laborers and foremen	3.9	4.6	9.5	12.5
Laborers, except farm and mine	4.7	4.9	15.8	14.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

^aSource: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-50, No. 66, Table 3, p. 8.

Table 49 indicates the changes between 1948 and 1955 in the distribution by industry of white and nonwhite workers.

Regarding labor force participation, a major and persistent difference is the much higher proportion of nonwhite than of white women who work. The main reasons are (1) the lower average income level of nonwhite family heads -- in many cases the wife has to supplement the earnings; and (2) the greater incidence of "broken" homes among nonwhites -- in many cases requiring the woman to become the family breadwinner. In 1948, about 44 per cent of all nonwhite women were in the labor force as compared with approximately 31 per cent of the white women. In 1955, the same proportion of nonwhite women were in the labor force as in 1948; and 34 per cent of the white women were.

Unlike the women, on an overall basis, the proportions of white and of nonwhite men who work tend to be similar. Migration from farms, extension of education and of public and private retirement plans have been factors in reducing the formerly higher rates of participation in the labor force of nonwhite youths under 18 years of age and of nonwhite men 65 years old and over. In the age groups 25 to 54 years -- the years where labor force participation is highest -- white men show slightly but persistently higher rates. The reasons for this difference are apparently the somewhat greater

Check - is this for white?
Believe not significant here - probably should qualify

TABLE 49. EMPLOYED PERSONS, BY COLOR AND MAJOR INDUSTRY

GROUP: ANNUAL AVERAGES, 1955 AND 1948^a

Major Industry Group	Per Cent			
	White		Nonwhite	
	1955	1948	1955	1948
Agriculture	10.1	12.6	15.7	21.1
Forestry, fisheries, and mining.	1.4	1.5	0.7	3.0
Construction.	6.5	6.0	5.3	4.5
Manufacturing	28.2	28.5	19.7	18.9
Transportation, communication, and other public utilities	7.4	8.3	6.0	6.4
Wholesale and retail trade.	20.2	20.1	13.5	11.5
Private households.	2.2	1.7	16.3	16.1
Personal services, except private households	2.8	3.2	6.5	6.6
Educational services.	4.0	2.8	3.0	2.1
Professional and related services, except education	5.3	3.9	4.9	3.3
Service industries, except personal and professional	7.3	6.8	4.0	3.3
Public administration	4.6	4.6	4.2	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

^aSource: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-50, No. 66, Table 4, p. 9.

amount of disabling illness among nonwhites and their higher concentration in agriculture, where even some of the adult men remain outside the labor force part of the year.¹

B. Background Data on the Negro Worker in the San Francisco Bay Area

The Negro group has experienced a great increase in numbers and important shifts in economic status since 1940, and it is helpful to consider their present status in the San Francisco labor force in the light of those developments.

In 1940 there were 4,846 Negroes in the city of San Francisco; they constituted only .8 per cent of the total population.² By 1950 they had

¹Ibid., pp. 2-3.

²U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part I, Table F-43, p. 663.

increased ninefold to 43,502 and made up 5.6 per cent of the population.¹

The new Negro population arriving during the war years found employment primarily in a few war industries. Consequently, in the postwar period they experienced considerable downgrading occupationally and also extensive unemployment. Nevertheless, the Negro's occupational status in the San Francisco Bay Area in 1948 was much better than before the war.²

In 1948 McEntire and Tarnopol studied a stratified random sample of 600 Negro households in San Francisco, Oakland, Alameda, Berkeley, and Richmond.³ They found that more than half of the employed Negro workers in their sample were in common labor and service occupations as compared with one-sixth of the general employed population in the Bay Area in 1947. Another fourth of the Negro workers were in industrial jobs, most of them as operatives. This represented a major shift in occupational distribution since 1940. In 1948 less than a third of the employed Negroes were in service occupations as compared with two-thirds in 1940. In 1948, one in 20 workers was a domestic servant as compared with one in four in 1940. The proportion of Negroes in clerical occupations doubled in the eight-year period, from one in 20 to one in ten, but nearly three-fourths of the clerical workers in the survey were in government agencies including the Post Office, and those in private employment were mainly in such "back room" jobs as stock and shipping clerks, with a few in Negro businesses.

The occupational shift was most pronounced among the employed Negro women. The proportion in domestic service was a little under one-fifth in the 1948 sample as compared with approximately two-thirds for San Francisco and Oakland in 1940. Roughly one-fourth were industrial workers and laborers in 1948 as compared with one-twentieth in 1940.⁴ While the proportion of Negro women in each white-collar occupation in 1948 was substantially greater than in 1940,⁵

¹U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950, General Characteristics, California, Table 42, p. 164.

²Davis McEntire and Julia R. Tarnopol, "Postwar Status of Negro Workers in San Francisco Area," Monthly Labor Review, June, 1950, 612.

³Loc. cit.

⁴Ibid., pp. 614-15.

⁵Ibid., Table 2, p. 615.

. . . Negro working women in 1948 were still employed predominantly in the "lower" occupations. Only a fifth of the employed Negro women in 1948 were engaged in clerical, proprietary-managerial, or professional jobs although these occupations included nearly three-fourths of the total employed women in the San Francisco-Oakland metropolitan district in 1947.¹

The data on the occupational shifts in the 600 Negro households from 1940 to 1944 to 1948 show that during the war both Negro migrants and Negro old residents moved mainly from laborer and service occupations to jobs as operatives and skilled craftsmen.² After the war there was a reverse trend, and by 1948, Negro workers had apparently dropped about half way back to their prewar occupational status. The large decline in the percentage of Negro skilled and semiskilled workers from 1944 to 1948 was only partly offset by increases in clerical and other jobs above laborer and service occupations. Concentration of Negro workers in a few industries, mainly shipbuilding and military supply depots, had made them especially vulnerable to post-war employment dislocation.

About a fourth of the Negroes surveyed in 1948 worked for the government, another fourth were in service industries, mainly personal services, and a fifth were in manufacturing. In comparison with the general employed population in 1947, a strikingly small proportion of Negro workers in the Bay Area were employed in wholesale and retail trade.³ McEntire and Tarnopol concluded that although Negroes were spread more widely through the occupational and industrial structure in 1948 than before the war, they were still more concentrated in service and laborer jobs than were the general employed population of the area, and were relatively fewer in the professional, clerical, proprietary-managerial, and skilled occupations.⁴

¹Ibid., p. 614.

²Charles S. Johnson, in his survey The Negro War Worker in San Francisco (San Francisco: Young Women's Christian Association, 1944), gave the occupational distribution of 15,004 Negro industrial workers in the San Francisco Area in 1943: skilled, 34 per cent; semiskilled, 30 per cent; unskilled, 36 per cent (p. 65). Thus the proportion in each level of skill was approximately one-third. According to Johnson, the skilled and semiskilled workers were mainly in shipbuilding, and the figures camouflaged less favorable policies toward Negro and other minority workers in other industries and businesses.

³McEntire and Tarnopol, op. cit., p. 615.

⁴Ibid., p. 612.

C. The Distribution of Minority Workers in the
San Francisco-Oakland Standard Metropolitan Area,
by Occupation and by Industry, in 1950

As we have said, the most recent, complete, and reliable data on the economic characteristics of members of racial and ethnic minorities is contained in the 1950 United States Census of Population. The published reports do not give breakdowns by race and nativity and parentage for the city of San Francisco alone. Therefore, this section will summarize the information on the total population, Negroes, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, foreign-born Mexicans, and American-born Mexicans of foreign or mixed parentage in the San Francisco-Oakland Standard Metropolitan Area. This unit is composed of Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, San Francisco, San Mateo, and Solano Counties. There is no reason to suppose that the economic status of minority workers in the city of San Francisco differs significantly from the rest of these Bay Area counties.

In 1950, the minority workers under study constituted 11.2 per cent of the total civilian labor force. The Negro group was the largest of the six.

Labor force status of males. -- As Table 50 shows, the foreign-born Mexicans had the largest proportion of males 14 years old and over in the civilian labor force (86.2 per cent), and the American-born Mexicans of foreign or mixed parentage and the Chinese had the smallest (66.0 per cent and 66.6 per cent, respectively), as compared with 72.7 per cent for the general population. The largest proportions of unemployed males were found in the Negro group (19.0 per cent) and the Mexicans of foreign or mixed parentage (17.0 per cent). While 7.8 per cent of the total civilian labor force was unemployed, only 4.4 per cent of the Japanese group fell in this category.

Labor force status of females. -- Among the total female population 14 years old and over, 33.7 per cent were in the civilian labor force. The Japanese and Negro groups had the largest proportions in the civilian labor force (49.5 per cent and 42.3 per cent, respectively), and the Filipinos and foreign-born Mexicans had the smallest (23.9 per cent and 28.7 per cent, respectively). Among the total female civilian labor force, 7.7 per cent were unemployed. As in the case of males, the Negroes and American-born Mexicans of foreign or mixed parentage had the highest percentages unemployed (20.7 per cent and 18.7 per cent, respectively). The Japanese and Chinese women had the lowest rates (3.4 per cent and 4.4 per cent, respectively).

Occupational distribution of males. -- An analysis of the occupational distributions for each minority group is important because of their deviations from that of the total population. In 1950, as Table 51 shows, the leading occupations of all employed males 14 years old and over were: craftsmen and foremen (21.7 per cent), clerical and sales people (17.6 per cent), operatives (15.5 per cent), managers, officials, and proprietors (13.9 per cent), and professional and technical personnel (10.7 per cent). White-collar workers were 42.2 per cent of the total.

Among Negro males the leading occupations were: laborers (36.0 per cent), operatives (19.0 per cent), service workers except private household (18.6 per cent), and craftsmen and foremen (11.3 per cent). In each of the three white-collar occupations -- professional and technical; managers, officials, and proprietors; and clerical and sales -- the proportion of employed Negro males was less than half that for the general population. On the other hand, in three of the five blue-collar categories -- private household workers, service except private household, and laborers -- the proportion of the Negro group so employed was more than twice that for the general population; but in the skilled worker class -- craftsmen and foremen -- the proportion of the Negro group (11.3 per cent) was only a little more than half that for the total population.

The occupational distribution of Chinese males was more like that for the total population, except for the fact that service workers exclusive of domestics accounted for the largest percentage. While the proportions in each of the white-collar categories and in the operative group paralleled those for the total population, the percentages of craftsmen and foremen and laborers were each less than half the corresponding figure for the general population, and those which were private household and other service workers each constituted proportions more than twice as large.

The leading occupations among Japanese males were laborers (20.7 per cent) and private household workers (14.8 per cent). In each white-collar category the proportion was smaller than for the total population, but in no case less than half. On the other hand, the proportion who were craftsmen and foremen was less than half that for all employed males, and the proportions which were private household workers and laborers were each more than twice as great as for the total group.

The Filipino male group was characterized by an unusual concentration in service work (41.3 per cent). The proportions who were employed in each

TABLE 50. LABOR FORCE STATUS OF PERSONS 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER IN THE SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREA, BY SEX, FOR THE TOTAL POPULATION AND SELECTED RACIAL AND ETHNIC MINORITIES: 1950

Population Group	Persons 14 Yrs. Old and Over		Civilian Labor Force				Unemployed	
	Total	In the Labor Force	Total		Employed		Number	Per Cent of Civilian Labor Force
			Number	Per Cent of Persons 14 Yrs. Old and Over	Number	Per Cent of Civilian Labor Force		
MALE								
Total ^a	824,053	704,369	643,313	72.7	593,501	92.2	49,812	7.8
Negro ^b	54,772	43,823	39,798	72.7	32,200	81.0	7,598	19.0
Chinese ^c	17,267	11,567	11,499	66.6	10,129	87.7	1,370	12.3
Japanese ^d	5,702	4,176	4,031	70.7	3,855	95.6	176	4.4
Filipino ^e	7,408	6,270	5,276	71.2	4,674	88.6	602	11.4
Mexican								
Foreign born	7,110	6,145	6,130	86.2	5,355	87.4	775	12.6
Native of foreign or mixed parentage	8,130	6,025	5,370	66.0	4,460	83.0	910	17.0
FEMALE								
Total ^a	867,081	295,059	293,643	33.7	271,066	92.3	22,577	7.7
Negro ^b	53,379	22,635	22,587	42.3	17,910	79.3	4,677	20.7
Chinese ^c	9,649	3,291	3,285	34.0	3,140	95.6	145	4.4
Japanese ^d	5,298	2,627	2,623	49.5	2,533	96.6	90	3.4
Filipino ^e	1,947	470	465	23.9	393	84.5	72	15.5
Mexican								
Foreign born	6,320	1,825	1,815	28.7	1,630	89.8	185	10.2
Native of foreign or mixed parentage	7,185	2,575	2,565	35.7	2,085	81.3	480	18.7

^aSource: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950, General Characteristics, California, Table 35, p. 108.

^bSource: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950, Special Reports, Nonwhite Population by Race, Table 20, p. 71.

^cSource: Ibid., Table 23, p. 80.

^dSource: Ibid., Table 22, p. 79.

^eSource: Ibid., Table 24, p. 81.

^fSource: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950, Special Reports, Nativity and Parentage, Table 22, p. 296.

TABLE 51. EMPLOYED PERSONS 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY SEX, AND MAJOR
MINORITIES IN THE SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND *cont.*

Major Occupation Group	Total Population ^a		Negro ^b	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
MALE	593,501	100.0	32,200	100.0
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	63,370	10.7	670	2.1
Farmers and farm managers	5,597	.9	21	.1
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	82,768	13.9	844	2.6
Clerical, sales, and kindred workers	104,628	17.6	2,500	7.8
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	129,220	21.7	3,643	11.3
Operatives and kindred workers	91,816	15.5	6,120	19.0
Private household workers	2,111	.4	287	.9
Service workers, except private household	52,462	8.8	5,977	18.6
Farm laborers, unpaid family workers	244	*	2	*
Farm laborers, except unpaid, and farm foremen	6,831	1.2	116	.4
Laborers, except farm and mine	50,177	8.4	11,630	36.0
Occupation not reported	5,277	.9	390	1.2
FEMALE	271,066	100.0	17,910	100.0
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	36,375	14.2	617	3.4
Farmers and farm managers	435	.2	4	*
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	15,488	5.7	328	1.8
Clerical, sales, and kindred workers	129,066	47.6	1,918	10.7
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	3,003	1.5	152	.8
Operatives and kindred workers	27,532	10.5	2,500	14.0
Private household workers	16,772	6.2	6,570	36.8
Service workers, except private household	32,510	12.0	4,990	27.9
Farm laborers, unpaid family workers	249	.1	1	*
Farm laborers, except unpaid, and farm foremen	526	.2	16	.1
Laborers, except farm and mine	1,763	.6	593	3.3
Occupation not reported	3,317	1.2	221	1.2

^aSource: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States p. 148.

OCCUPATION GROUP, FOR SELECTED RACIAL AND ETHNIC
STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREA: 1950

Chinese ^c		Japanese ^d		Filipino ^e		Mexican ^f			
Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Foreign-Born		Native of Foreign or Mixed Parentage	
						Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
10,129	100.0	3,855	100.0	4,674	100.0	5,355	100.0	4,460	100.0
640	6.3	273	7.1	56	1.2	110	2.0	165	3.7
114	1.1	299	7.7	105	2.2	10	.1	10	.2
1,821	18.0	316	8.2	109	2.3	225	4.2	150	3.4
1,827	18.1	368	9.5	228	4.9	235	4.4	555	12.4
622	6.1	192	5.0	351	7.5	870	16.2	870	19.5
1,430	14.1	375	9.8	521	11.1	1,135	21.2	1,290	29.0
404	4.0	569	14.8	151	3.2	15	.3	...	...
2,851	28.2	289	7.5	1,950	41.8	405	7.6	285	6.4
12	.1	29	.8	2	*	...	...	10	.2
126	1.2	312	8.1	814	17.5	985	18.4	225	5.0
178	1.8	802	20.7	333	7.1	1,300	24.4	875	19.6
104	1.0	31	.8	54	1.2	65	1.2	25	.6
3,140	100.0	2,533	100.0	393	100.0	1,630	100.0	2,085	100.0
243	7.7	202	8.0	23	5.8	155	9.5	125	6.0
2	.1	31	1.2	2	.5	5	.3	5	.2
172	5.5	69	2.7	20	5.1	75	4.6	25	1.2
1,421	45.2	865	34.1	140	35.7	200	12.3	860	41.3
15	.5	15	.6	4	1.0	60	3.7	20	.9
851	27.1	237	9.4	55	14.0	820	50.2	595	28.5
88	2.8	786	31.0	47	12.0	60	3.7	75	3.6
291	9.3	109	4.3	83	21.1	145	8.9	245	11.8
3	.1	67	2.6	2	.5	...	...	...	...
3	.1	101	4.0	7	1.8	45	2.8	80	3.8
17	.5	14	.6	1	.2	50	3.1	45	2.2
34	1.1	37	1.5	9	2.3	15	.9	10	.5

Census of Population: 1950, General Characteristics, California, Table 35,

TABLE 51 -- Continued

^bSource: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950, Special Reports, Nonwhite Population by Race, Table 20, p. 71.

^cSource: Ibid., Table 23, p. 80.

^dSource: Ibid., Table 22, p. 79.

^eSource: Ibid., Table 24, p. 81.

^fSource: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950, Special Reports, Nativity and Parentage, Table 22, p. 296.

* -- Less than 0.1 per cent.

of the three white-collar groups and as craftsmen and foremen were each less than half the corresponding figure for the total population. The percentages in private household and other service occupations were both more than twice as great as for the total population.

The foreign-born Mexican males differed from the general population most markedly with respect to the leading occupational class, laborers (24.4 per cent). This proportion was more than twice as large as the percentage of the total population who were laborers. On the other hand, in each of the three white-collar categories, the proportion of foreign-born Mexicans was less than half the corresponding figure for the total.

The American-born Mexicans of foreign or mixed parentage showed a somewhat different distribution. The leading occupations were operatives (29.0 per cent), laborers (19.6 per cent), craftsmen and foremen (19.5 per cent), and clerical and sales workers (12.4 per cent). The percentages which were (a) professional and technical workers, (b) managers, officials, and proprietors, and (c) private household workers were each less than half as large as the corresponding proportion of the general population. Laborers represented more than twice as large a percentage as in the total.

In summary, taking the percentage of white-collar workers as a rough index of occupational status, we find that all except the Chinese (which have 42.4 per cent) have much smaller proportions than the general population (42.2 per cent):

Minority Group	Per Cent of Employed Males 14 Years Old and Over in White-Collar Jobs
Filipino	8.4
Foreign-born Mexican	10.6
Negro	12.5
Native-born Mexican of foreign or mixed parentage	19.5
Japanese	24.8
Chinese	42.4

Occupational distribution of females. — In 1950, nearly half of the total employed women workers 14 years old and older were in clerical and sales positions (47.6 per cent). The next most frequent categories were professional and technical (14.2 per cent), service other than domestic (12.0 per cent), and operatives (10.5 per cent). About two-thirds (57.5 per cent) of all women workers were in the white-collar categories.

Among the employed Negro women the leading occupations were private household workers (36.7 per cent), other service workers (27.4 per cent), operatives (14.0 per cent), and clerical and sales (10.7 per cent). In each of the three white-collar categories -- professional and technical; managers, officials, and proprietors; and clerical and sales -- the percentage of the Negro group was less than half that for the total population. For domestic workers, other service personnel, and laborers, the percentages were each more than twice as large as for the total population.

The most usual occupations for employed Chinese women were clerical and sales (45.2 per cent), and operatives (27.1 per cent). The proportions in the white-collar occupations resembled the pattern for the general population except that the per cent who were professional and technical workers was just a little more than half that for the total population. There were also less than half as large percentages of Chinese women employed as craftsmen and foremen and as domestics as in the total group. On the other hand, more than twice as large a proportion were operatives.

The employed Japanese women were found mainly in clerical and sales positions (34.1 per cent) and in domestic service (31.0 per cent). The outstanding differences from the general population lay in having less than half as large percentages employed as managers, officials, and proprietors, craftsmen and foremen, and service workers other than domestics, and in having more than twice as large percentages employed as domestics.

The leading occupations among employed Filipino women were clerical and sales (35.7 per cent), service except private household (21.1 per cent), operatives (14.0 per cent), and private household workers (12.0 per cent). The greatest differences from the occupational distribution of the total population were among professional and technical workers and laborers, where the two percentages were less than half as large as for the general population.

Approximately half of the employed foreign-born Mexican women were operatives (50.2 per cent). The next largest group were in clerical and sales positions (12.3 per cent). The chief differences from the total population consisted of having less than half as large a proportion in clerical and sales work and more than twice as large proportions as craftsmen and foremen, operatives, and laborers, respectively.

Among the American-born Mexican women of foreign or mixed parentage, clerical and sales workers accounted for the largest proportion (41.3 per cent), followed by operatives (28.5 per cent), and service workers other than domestics (11.8 per cent). The percentages which were professional and technical workers and managers, officials, and proprietors, were each less than half the proportion for the corresponding group in the general population. On the other hand, the figures for operatives and laborers were each more than twice as great as in the total population.

In summary, using the percentage in white-collar occupations as an approximation of occupational status, we find that for females all the minority groups are exceeded by the general population (67.5 per cent). For both males and females the Chinese most nearly resemble the total population in proportion of white-collar workers. Otherwise, the order of percentages of females in white-collar jobs differs from that for males:

Minority Group	Per Cent of Employed Females 14 Years Old and Over in White-Collar Jobs
Negro	15.9
Foreign-born Mexican	26.4
Japanese	44.8
Filipino	46.6
Native-born Mexican of foreign or mixed parentage	48.5
Chinese	58.4

Industrial distribution of males. -- The published 1950 census data on employment, by industry, do not include individual breakdowns for the non-white races other than Negro (in the San Francisco-Oakland Standard Metro-

politan Area these are predominantly Chinese, Japanese, and other Orientals) nor for persons of Mexican ancestry. This section is therefore limited to the industrial distribution of the total employed population 14 years of age and over and of Negroes and other nonwhite races, respectively (see Table 52).

Among all employed males 14 years old and over, the leading industries were retail trade (16.0 per cent), transportation, communications, and other public utilities (12.6 per cent), and the manufacturing of durable goods (12.1 per cent) and of nondurable goods (10.7 per cent).

Among Negro males, the leading industries were public administration (19.5 per cent), transportation, communications, and other public utilities (19.2 per cent), construction (14.1 per cent), and manufacturing of durable goods (11.4 per cent).

In comparison with the general population, the chief differences consisted of having more than twice as large a proportion of Negroes in public administration and less than half as large proportions in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries; wholesale trade; retail trade; and finance, insurance, and real estate.

The industries employing the largest percentages of the other nonwhite males were retail trade (33.7 per cent), personal services (19.3 per cent), and agriculture, forestry, and fisheries (11.1 per cent). In all of these industries the proportion of the "other nonwhite" group was more than twice as large as that of the general population. On the other hand, the percentages of the other nonwhite group were less than half the corresponding figure for the total population in each of the following industries: mining; construction; manufacture of durable goods and of nondurable goods; transportation, communications, and other public utilities; finance, insurance, and real estate; and business and repair services.

Industrial distribution of females. -- For the total population of employed females 14 years old and over, the leading industries were retail trade (21.1 per cent), professional and related services (18.7 per cent), and personal services (13.3 per cent).

These three were also the leading industries for the employed Negro female group, but in reverse order: personal services (52.8 per cent), professional and related services (12.0 per cent), and retail trade (10.8 per cent).

TABLE 52. EMPLOYED PERSONS 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY SEX, AND MAJOR INDUSTRY GROUP, FOR SELECTED RACIAL MINORITIES IN THE SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREA: 1950^a

Major Industry Group	Total Population		Negro		Other Nonwhite Races	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
MALE	593,816	100.0	32,176	100.0	19,316	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	15,743	2.6	195	.6	2,138	11.1
Mining	971	.2	23	.1	...	...
Construction	59,062	9.9	4,541	14.1	285	1.5
Manufacturing	135,279	22.9	5,580	17.3	1,809	9.4
Durable goods	71,422	12.1	3,676	11.4	980	5.1
Nondurable goods	63,054	10.7	1,879	5.8	817	4.2
Not specified	803	.1	25	.1	12	.1
Transportation, communications, and other public utilities	74,880	12.6	6,188	19.2	937	4.8
Wholesale and retail trade	129,808	21.8	3,146	9.8	7,131	36.9
Wholesale	34,663	5.8	751	2.3	623	3.2
Retail	95,145	16.0	2,395	7.5	6,508	33.7
Finance, insurance, and real estate	29,571	5.0	753	2.3	475	2.4
Business and repair services	22,980	3.9	877	2.7	271	1.4
Personal services	23,821	4.0	2,184	6.8	3,735	19.3
Entertainment and recreation services	7,952	1.3	300	.9	155	.8
Professional and related services	37,774	6.4	1,786	5.6	998	5.2
Public administration	49,974	8.4	6,247	19.5	1,137	5.9
Industry not reported	6,001	1.0	356	1.1	245	1.3
FEMALE	271,160	100.0	17,834	100.0	6,247	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	1,587	.6	18	.1	238	3.8
Mining	117	*	...	...	2	*
Construction	2,435	.9	58	.3	16	.2
Manufacturing	37,420	13.8	1,231	6.9	1,075	17.2
Durable goods	12,764	4.7	277	1.5	94	1.5
Nondurable goods	24,242	8.9	941	5.3	975	15.6
Not specified	414	.2	13	.1	6	.1

TABLE 52 -- Continued

Major Industry Group	Total Population		Negro		Other Nonwhite Races	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Transportation, communications, and other public utilities	18,650	6.9	554	3.1	181	2.9
Wholesale and retail trade	57,990	25.1	2,158	12.1	1,308	21.0
Wholesale	10,906	4.0	236	1.3	186	3.0
Retail	57,084	21.1	1,922	10.8	1,122	18.0
Finance, insurance, and real estate	24,324	9.0	340	1.9	546	8.7
Business and repair services	5,133	1.9	68	.4	72	1.2
Personal services	36,174	13.3	9,456	52.8	1,379	22.2
Entertainment and recreational services	3,455	1.3	91	.5	32	.5
Professional and related services	50,747	18.7	2,145	12.0	712	11.4
Public administration	19,016	7.0	1,534	8.6	573	9.2
Industry not reported	4,112	1.5	231	1.3	108	1.7

^aSource: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950, Detailed Characteristics, California, Table 83, p. 420.

* -- less than .1 per cent.

The proportions of the Negro female group, by industry, tend to differ rather markedly from the corresponding figures for the general population. More than twice as large a proportion of the Negro group were employed in personal service industries, while the proportions in the following industries were less than half as large as for the total population: agriculture, forestry, and fisheries; construction; manufacturing of durable goods; transportation, communications, and other public utilities; wholesale trade; finance, insurance, and real estate; business and repair services; and entertainment and recreational services.

The leading industries for employed females of the other nonwhite races were personal services (22.2 per cent), retail trade (18.0 per cent), manufacture of nondurable goods (15.6 per cent), and professional and related services (11.4 per cent).

The outstanding differences between the proportions of other nonwhite females and of the total female population were that more than twice as large a percentage of the "other nonwhite" group were in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries, while the figures for the following were each less than half the corresponding per cent of the total population: construction; manufacture of durable goods; transportation, communications, and other public utilities; and entertainment and recreational services.

In summary, the lists of leading industries for the female Negro and female "other races" groups were more similar to that for the total female population than the corresponding lists for the two groups of nonwhite males were to the list of leading industries for all males.

In a few industries the proportions of the minority groups differed greatly from the corresponding percents of the total population. In agriculture, forestry, and fisheries the percentages of Negro males and females were both less than half the proportion of the total population, while twice as large proportions of other nonwhite males and females were in this industry. For construction; manufacture of durable goods; and transportation, communications, and other public utilities the figures for Negro females and other nonwhite males and females were all less than half the per cent of the total population. Less than half as large proportions of Negro males and females and other nonwhite males were employed in finance, insurance, and real estate as among the general population.

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